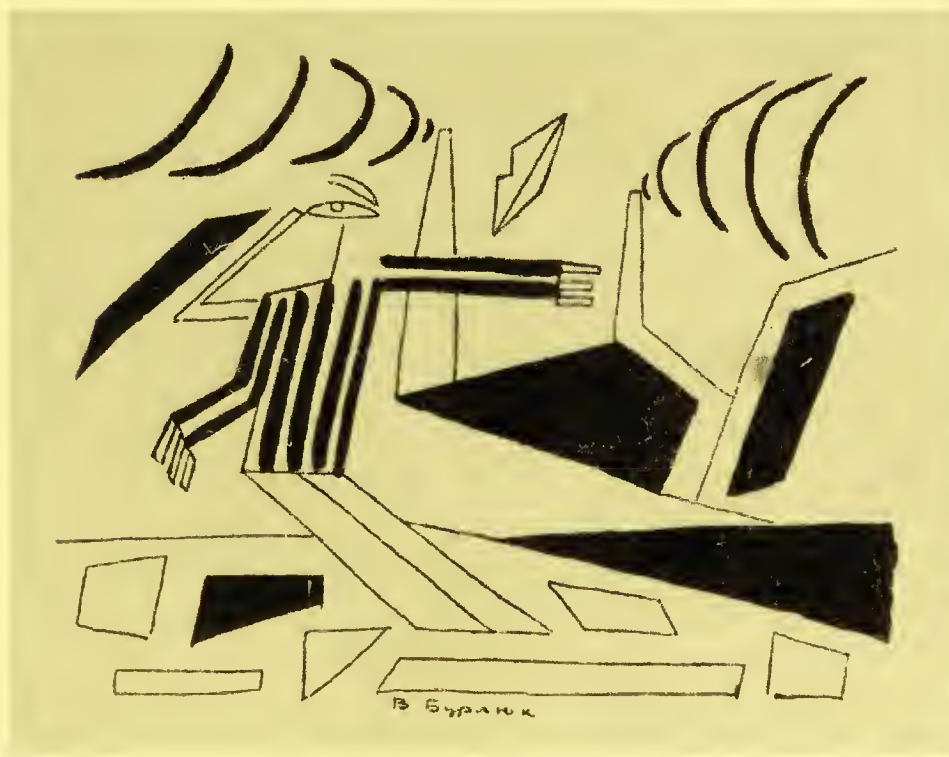


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SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF
THE PRINTED AND WRITTEN WORD IN RUSSIA AND
EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

New Series Vol. 22 2011





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Aleksei Teplov and the Free Russian Library in Whitechapel¹

Robert Henderson

On 5 February 1902, towards the end of a meeting in London of the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom (SFRF), the veteran revolutionary, Nikolai Chaikovskii rose to give what was later described as ‘an interesting account of the Russian Free Library in Whitechapel, founded and managed by Mr Teplov, which it was now proposed to place on a permanent footing.’ He also informed the Committee that amongst its activities the library had organised a series of well-attended lectures in Russian for the local populace.² This information was duly noted in the next issue of the society’s journal, *Free Russia*, which also carried a one-page supplement entitled, ‘An Appeal for the Cause of Education in the East End of London’.³ This document gave further details of the library’s wide range of activities and called for help from outside sympathizers to allow the organising committee (which included such notable British liberals as: Gertrude Toynbee, Mrs. Francis Hueffer, Herbert Burrows, and J. Frederick Green) to procure larger premises and extend the services already on offer to the foreign community in the East End, namely: ‘free lessons in the English language, composition, literature, history and constitution, as well as free legal advice to the poor, a free labour bureau, free concerts, and a social club’ (Fig. 1).

The verso of the appeal carried a photograph of the cramped interior of the library underlining the urgent need to find more space (Fig. 2). That same image had appeared a few months earlier as an illustration for an article entitled ‘Russia in East London’ by a certain Count Armfelt, who described the premises thus:

This library is unique in its way. It consists of one room on the second floor of a small house in Church Lane... A long table, two wooden benches, and two rough writing tables, a few chairs and several dozen shelves, about two thousand books, Russian newspapers and periodicals about five days old, with a few prints on the walls. This comprises all the furniture, and all there is to admire.

An Appeal for the Cause of Education

IN THE EAST END OF LONDON.

It is generally acknowledged by Educationalists and Sociologists that any social system in which there is a class of ignorant and uneducated people is extremely unsatisfactory. This is especially the case when such a class is of a different nationality to that of the country in which its members are for the time located. Unfair advantage will often be taken of this ignorance by those who are eager to turn it to their own profit. National prejudices will be easily raised, and instead of native and foreigner being brought together to know each other, and to labour on equal terms for their own interests and for the common good, race feeling and race bitterness are often engendered, to the detriment of both.

The largest majority of foreigners come from Russia and Poland, where they are kept on a low standard of life and civic feeling by most frightful persecutions, often equal to or surpassing those of medieval times. When they come to England, miserably driven here against their will, having never seen and experienced what freedom and equality before the law mean, they continue more or less their life as in their own country, and through their ignorance fall an easy prey to the worst kinds of the sweating system, which is a standing danger to the industrial welfare of the English workers. Ignorance of the English language and of English free institutions, and general lack of education, make them, often sweated by their own brothers, absolutely helpless, and prevent their participation in the social and political life and interests of the country.

This fact has long been recognised by thoughtful Englishmen, especially among the leaders of the working classes, who have been labouring in their appeals to the poor foreigners to bring themselves into line as far as possible with their English brethren. But hitherto most of these appeals have been frustrated and efforts hampered by the lack of education, social, industrial and literary, on the part of the foreigners. It therefore follows that such education is the first necessity for the welfare of these foreigners, so that they may be taught the dignity of manhood, the duties of citizenship, and the consciousness of their industrial and civic responsibilities. To educate them is a prime duty. It will be for the best welfare, both of themselves and of their English fellow workers, for they will then be enabled to take a place, not as sweating camp followers, but as useful and helpful members.

But as the foreigner does not know English you cannot at once get him into the English free libraries, and to attend the English free lectures. Therefore it is necessary to begin his education through books and lectures in his own languages—Yiddish, Russian, Polish, etc.

With this view some private individuals established in the East End, over three years ago, a temporary Free Russian Library, where foreigners can read papers and borrow books for home reading in several languages, mostly in Yiddish and in Russian. This library

16, CHURCH LANE, E., ALMOST OPPOSITE TO TOYNBEE HALL,

is open to the public from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m., and is always overflowed with reading people. With the same view they organised for the foreigners of the East End, free lectures on various subjects, such as, "On water," "On the air," "Electricity," on the "Education, history and constitution of England," on Trade Unions, Socialism, and many other subjects from natural and social sciences. These lectures are invariably attended by a large audience, which fact shows how great is the need for education among these foreigners. But the means of the organising committee being very far from ideal, it follows that the premises of the library and lecture hall are too small and in the most unsanitary conditions, and that the further progress of the work is thwarted. The necessity for larger premises is imperative. The organising committee feels itself compelled to call for help from outside sympathisers. To carry out this form of education it is necessary to procure larger premises in which, besides the free lectures and the free library and reading room, would also be given free lessons in the English language, civics, constitution, literature, history and constitution, as well as free legal advice to the poor, a free labour bureau, free concerts, and a social club.

In this necessity we urgently call the attention of all genuine sympathisers and ask for their help.

A committee, composed of Russian and of English men and women has been formed, the members of which will gladly receive donations or annual subscriptions for the furtherance of the above objects.

Miss GERTRUDE TOYNBEE, 223, Marblebone Road, N.W.
Mrs. FRANCIS HUEFFER, 92, Hawk Green, Hammersmith, W.
Miss ROSINE DEPRIS, 49, Wigmore Street, W.
Mr. HERBERT BURROWS, 59, Sotheby Road, Highbury Park, N.
Mr. J. FRID, GREEN, 40, Outer Temple, Strand, W.C.
Mr. FELIX VOLKHOVSKY, 12, Tatters Road, Batham Hill, S.W.
Mr. D. M. SOKICE, 11, D., 50, Brook Green, W.
Mr. N. W. TCHAYKOVSKY, Langham House, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
Mr. A. TEPUFF, 106, Commercial Road, E.; Hon. Treasurer.

[P.T.O.]

Fig. 1. 'An Appeal for the Cause of Education'.
Supplement to *Free Russia*, 1 March 1902, vol. 13, no. 3.

Armfelt also described the clientele served by this unique institution:

At the Russian Library you meet men belonging to every class of society and men of every type: naval cadets of the imperial service, students and literary men, tradesmen, men without occupation who do not know a word of English, all congregate there and the smoke which issues from cigars and pipes and cigarettes welds all these atoms of Russian society into an indistinct mass.⁴

The author, however, gave no indication of how the library had come into existence, nor indeed did he make any reference to the sterling work performed by its founder and chief librarian.

Those brief mentions, in *Free Russia* and *Living London*, are the most valuable of the very few contemporary references to this remarkable institution which, over the twenty years leading up to 1917 served, on the one hand, as a benevolent society for poor, often illiterate, Jewish immigrants, and on the other, as an important revolutionary meeting place which would find itself the centre of attention of the political police forces of St Petersburg, Paris and London. Since then, to the best of my knowledge, the *Bezplatnaia russkaia biblioteka i chital'nia*, to give it its full name, has fared no better, attracting almost no academic attention, either inside or outside Russia.⁵

Fortunately, with the discovery of Teplov's private papers in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, and with reference to certain other French and British archival documents, it is now possible to offer an account of the formation and development of the library and to throw some light on the full and varied life of its founder and guiding light.⁶ As will become apparent, Aleksei L'vovich Teplov led a life which (to those outside the profession at least!) might be considered unusually colourful and exciting for a mere librarian.

Early Years

Teplov's father, Lev Vasil'evich, served as a priest in the small village of Agramakovo, some 100 kilometres to the west of Penza. It was there, on 5 April 1852, that his wife, Evdokiia Timarevna, gave birth to a son, Aleksei⁷ (Fig. 3). In his reminiscences Teplov makes no mention of his early childhood but does recall his high school years and how he first became acquainted with the works of Dobroliubov, Pisarev and Chernyshevskii. Then, as a student at the St Petersburg Institute of Technology in the early 1870s he was introduced, via the underground press, to more radical notions

THE FREE RUSSIAN LIBRARY.



Fig. 2. 'The Free Russian Library'.
E. Armfelt, 'Russia in East London', *Living London*,
London, vol. 1, 6 November 1901, p. 27.

and, with eyes now opened, began to look critically at the existing forms of Russian economic and political life. He soon came to the realisation that, 'the people were our only hope – one only had to tell them as much and explain it to them. In 1874, therefore, I quit my comfortable life and "went to the people" as a propagandist preaching a better form of life based on love for one another, equality and total freedom!'⁸

In 1875 the young idealist found work on the railways in Syzran in Saratov province, where he engaged in the distribution of illegal populist literature among his fellow workers. It is recorded that Vera Zasulich spent three days there in the summer and called him to a meeting in her hotel room to pass on some books for distribution. Having already served a term in prison, Zasulich, as a high-profile revolutionary, would certainly have

been kept under close police supervision and it is doubtless that it was as a direct result of this meeting that Teplov found himself under arrest in August of that year. As ever, the Russian judicial apparatus moved slowly and it was not until April 1878 that the Senate handed down his sentence of five years exile to Verkholsk in Eastern Siberia.⁹ Unfortunately, Teplov left no record of this period of his life, and of the following six years, he mentions only his return home to Penza and his employment there as a scribe in the local conservatory.

It would appear that, at this point, Teplov had not yet considered librarianship as a vocation for in 1889 he again decided to take up the struggle and fled Russia for France, abandoning his scribe's pen for a considerably more direct programme of action against the tsar. Unfortunately, these plans received an almost immediate setback when, in February 1890 in the Forest of Bondy, some fifteen kilometres to the east of Paris, the new arrival received a serious wound to the thigh caused by the premature explosion of one of the experimental bombs he had been hurling at a tree. And his misfortunes did not end there for, a few months into his convalescence, in the early hours of the morning of 29 May, he was rudely awoken by the French police and taken into custody, together with sixteen of his compatriots, on charges of illegal possession of explosives.

This, the 'Paris Bomb Plot', received wide coverage in the international press and, as the story unfolded with reports of the discovery of a veritable bomb factory on the 6th floor of a flat at 60, avenue des Gobelins in the centre of Paris, it emerged that eight of those arrested, including the unfortunate Teplov, might indeed be guilty as charged. It also became clear that the group had fallen victim to an act of provocation by a Russian police agent, a certain Landesén, who had betrayed his compatriots to the authorities and then smartly fled the scene before the arrests were made. At the trial it was revealed that various bomb-making chemicals had been found in Teplov's room and, as the *Times* reported, the latter's defence strategy was somewhat weak and ill-judged:

Levof, also known as Tiplof and Peplof, refuses to give his real name. He pretends ignorance of French, and even pretended at the beginning of the inquiry that he could not write, although books intelligible only to a cultivated mind were found on him. His replies have always been curt and vague. He lives in a humble way, yet, when arrested, had 300 francs in his drawer.¹⁰

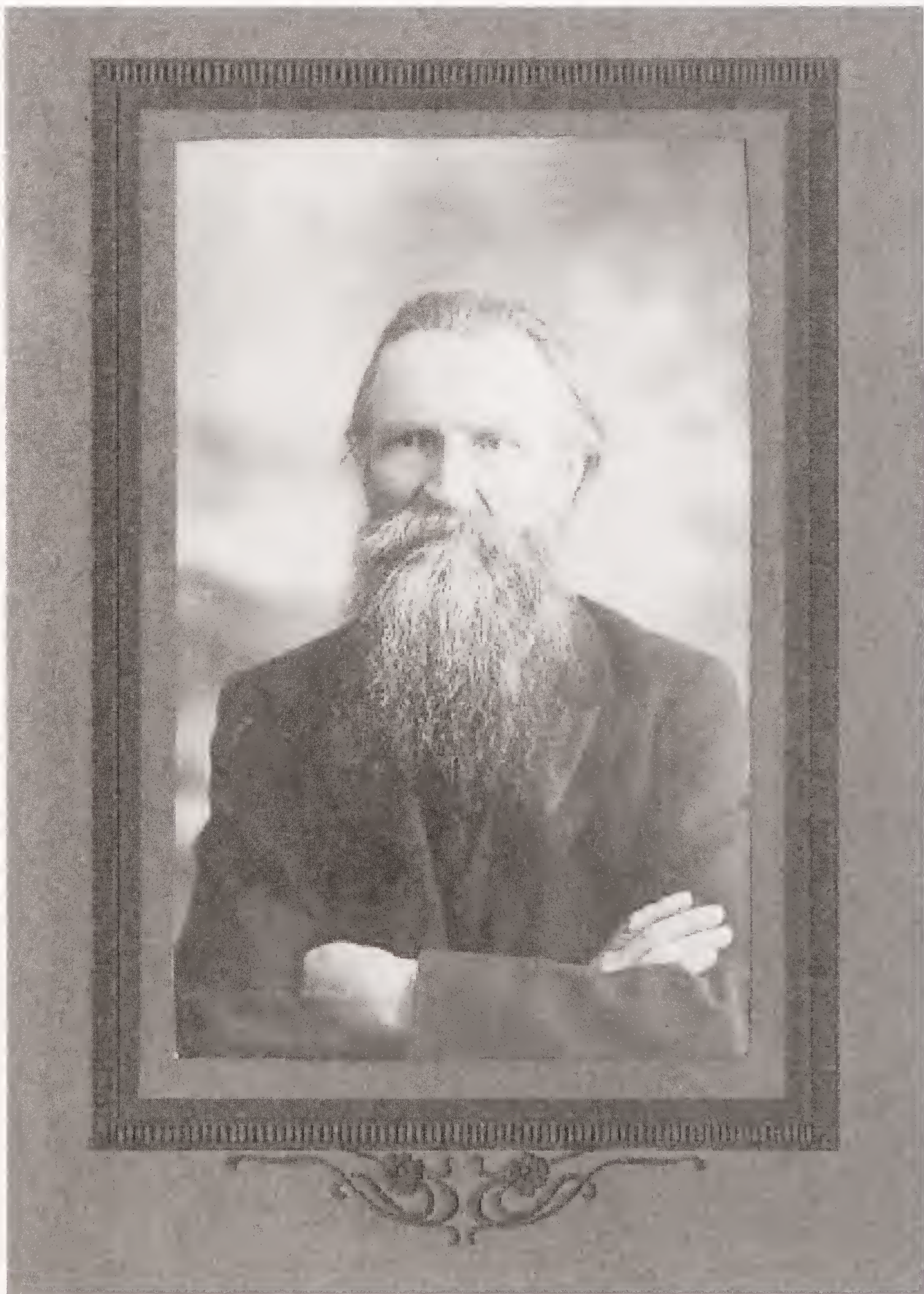


Fig. 3. 'Aleksei L'vovich Teplov' (1852-1920).
Photograph from Zhuk archive, IISH, Amsterdam.

The fiasco continued, with Teplov, assisted by an interpreter, attempting to explain that he had received the items seized in his house only a few days before his arrest. The judge, however, was not convinced and sentenced him and another five of the accused to three years imprisonment.¹¹ In absentia, Landesén, whom the judge had identified as ring-leader, was given the maximum sentence permissible of five years.

To London

On his release from Angers prison in the spring of 1893 Teplov was met by his close friend, the bibliographer and ‘historian of the Russian Revolution’ Vladimir Burtsev, who immediately whisked him off to London.¹² There he found a welcoming public who, thanks in large part to the efforts of Sergei Stepniak and his colleagues in the SFRF, were already sympathetic to the plight of the Russian people and well aware of the horrors of Tsar Alexander III’s regime. What the young revolutionary also found, amongst the Russian and Polish immigrants in the East End of London, was poverty and illiteracy on a staggering scale. Teplov, a firm believer in the need to raise the political consciousness of the masses, as evidenced by his earlier propaganda work in Russia, now turned his attention to this new-found constituency.

What attracted him initially to the idea of setting up a free library is unknown but he was certainly encouraged in the endeavour by Chaikovskii and by Burtsev, a truly bookish individual and passionate champion of the cause of mass education and libraries for all. The beginnings of the library are equally obscure but Teplov’s archive does contain an intriguing set of income and expenditure accounts for 1893 which bear the red ink stamp of an institution by the name of the ‘Russo-Jewish Free Library, London: *Russko-evreiskaia Bezplatnaia Chital’nia gruppy “Progress”*’.¹³ The exact business of this group and the location of its library remain a mystery, but it appears to have been funded mainly by donations and income from a series of sixpenny lectures. An undated description of its collections lists some 300 titles comprising runs of periodicals such as *Otechestvennye zapiski* (1866–1883) and *Obshchee delo* (1886–1888), as well as a range of literary and scientific materials: the works of Lermontov, Uspenskii, and V. V. Markovnikov’s *Analitichnaia khimiia*, to name but a few. That this fund provided the foundation collection for what would later grow into the Free Russian Library is evident from the subsequent listing of titles headed, in

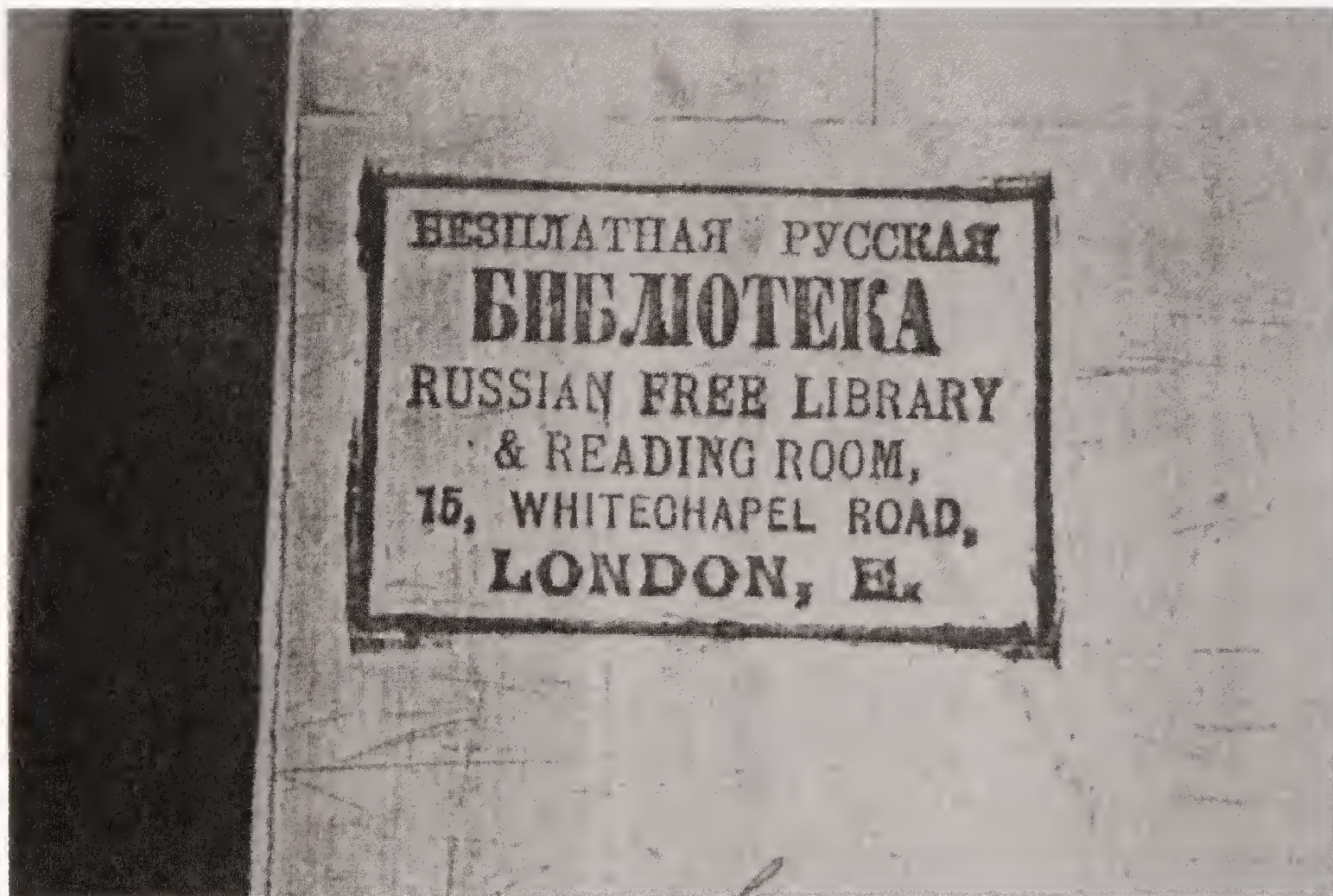


Fig. 4. 'Russian Free Library stamp'.
The National Archives, HO 144/272/A59222B/21.

Teplov's hand, 'Works acquired by me.'¹⁴ Here, in total, there are some 340 titles primarily in Russian and on the broad topic of Russian and European political history, but also included are a number of foreign language works such as Edward Aveling's *Working Class Movement in England*; William Morris's *News from Nowhere*, Mirabeau's *Discours et Opinions*, and Molière's *Le Misanthrope* and *Les Femmes Savantes*. The listing is undated but contains works published only up to 1898 and, indeed, it was on 13 July of that year, some five years after his arrival in Britain, that Teplov was able at last to announce the opening of his Free Russian Library and Reading Room at 15 Whitechapel Road, Stepney (Fig. 4).

The inaugural notice promised that the library would contain the best works of Russian literature published in Russia and abroad and that books could be read on the premises or taken home on loan. His proposed opening hours were very ambitious: from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m.¹⁵ and to ensure the reading public were properly served during this time he established a 'Corporation of Orderlies' (*Korporatsiia bibliotechnykh dezhurnykh*). This collective, numbering up to ten individuals, was responsible for the day to

day running of the library holding regular meetings at which special commissions reported on topics such as cataloguing, abstracting, bookbinding and also the organization of balls and entertainments which proved essential in providing enough funds for the maintenance of the library and the payment of the orderlies' wages which were set at fifteen shillings to £1 per week.¹⁶

No description remains of this first home of the library, nor of its next incarnation a few doors along at no. 29 Whitechapel Road, but the premises were clearly inadequate in particular with regard to providing a hall big enough to accommodate the audiences which turned up to take advantage of the second service provided, namely a series of lectures by the likes of Kropotkin, Chaikovskii, Cherkesov and, later, Soskice and Martov, who spoke on a range of topics, such as 'The Labour Movement in Europe', 'Imperialism and the Working Class', 'The Literature of Modern Russia', 'The State and Socialism', and 'Electricity and Magnetism'. So popular was this series of Friday and Sunday talks that public halls had to be hired for the purpose. Thus we find references to Liberty Hall in Brick Lane; the King's Hall in Commercial Road and Toynbee Hall itself.¹⁷ To deal with the growing demand for these events it became necessary to set up a Lectures' Committee, whose influence on the affairs of the library grew considerably over the years, as will become apparent.

The foundation of the Free Library had been achieved thanks solely to the financial support of Teplov's fellow revolutionaries, most notably Chaikovskii who made an initial donation of £10 with regular monthly supplements thereafter of £5, but finding continued funding from a community which was itself impoverished was always going to prove problematic. Teplov turned therefore to his homeland with an appeal in which he explained that his intention was to give his impoverished fellow workers in the East End 'the opportunity to maintain a spiritual relationship with their mother country and to retain contact with its literature and life'. He stressed that this was a free library that existed on donations from private individuals alone but he also promised that, as a social institution, it would never be allowed to become the property of a private individual or group.¹⁸ It would appear that his appeal met with some limited success for by the turn of the century the library had managed to move premises and now found itself in that small house at number sixteen Church Lane described earlier.

No. 16 Church Lane

It is clear that Teplov's aim at the outset was simply to educate the émigré population. Initially, at least, he showed no interest in continuing Stepniak's propaganda work amongst the British, in attracting British support or in strengthening Anglo-Russian relations. However, the publication of the above mentioned article and 'Appeal' changed all that. In Teplov's original draft the title of the latter had read: 'To Friends of Russian Working Jews of East End of London', but, perhaps wisely, the organizing committee had toned this down to appeal to a wider public.¹⁹ Proof of the success of the appeal can be gauged by the interest it sparked amongst the public, some of whom immediately got in touch with offers of help. In its issue of June 1902 *Free Russia* published a listing of the donations received 'in response to the appeal on behalf of the Russian Free Library (containing English books as well) and popular lectures organised for the East End Hebrews.' These donations alone amounted to £12.²⁰

One keen supporter was Aylmer Maude, translator and biographer of Tolstoy, who made a donation of £5 and expressed his hope that his Resurrection Fund Committee would be able to make a further grant. It is interesting to note that Maude also asked if he might borrow some Russian journals from the well-stocked library.²¹ He, of course, was not alone in this request: an indication of the library's remarkable success and popularity is an archival note stating that at any given moment the number of readers borrowing books could be up to an impressive 400.²² Account should also be taken of the library's role in the field of book supply on the international stage. One file alone contains upwards of 400 documents comprising a myriad of book requests chiefly from Russians, based in countries all over the world.²³ Occasionally these requests throw fresh light on the political events of the day, such as the letter dated 20 February 1905 from a sailor on board the cruiser *Rus'*, part of the Russian fleet stationed temporarily in the Mediterranean. Enclosed was a lengthy list of desiderata with the request that he be sent as many of these 'forbidden' books as his 75 roubles would permit. Whether Teplov succeeded in this way in assisting in the political education of the fleet which would result later that year in the Potemkin mutiny is not recorded.²⁴

As well as these requests to supply books, the Free Library also received offers of material, such as that from Mr G. F. Hilcken, Librarian of Bethnal Green Free Library who proposed donating books by the likes of Grigorovich, Turgenev and others.²⁵ Teplov also entered into correspondence with

such notable Russophiles as Sir Charles Hagberg Wright of the London Library and the two developed a healthy and mutually beneficial relationship which would last right through till 1917.²⁶ In addition, the archive contains numerous letters from individual British men and women wishing simply to borrow Russian books or to perfect their language.²⁷ And there is no surprise in all this – the end of the century heralded the beginnings of a remarkable period of heightened interest in all things Russian which, it has been argued, it would not be an exaggeration to call ‘Russomania’.²⁸

The significance of the role played by Teplov in helping spread this feverish interest in Russian culture is clearly demonstrated by his archive. Not only did his library attract a host of new British readers, it also provided invaluable assistance to established specialists such as Hagberg Wright, the Maudes and, moreover, Constance Garnett who was one of the Free Library’s first British visitors and with whom Teplov was evidently on very friendly terms. The archive contains a fascinating letter from the translator dated September 1902 in which she writes:

Dear Mr. Teploff, I have to thank you for letting me have the use of the volume of Tolstoy, which I post you back with this. I am ashamed to have kept it over a year. It has been of great use and I enclose a small subscription for your library. Yours truly Constance Garnett²⁹

Garnett does not specify the volume in question but it may well have included *Smert’ Ivana Il’icha* since a collection containing Garnett’s translation of that short story was published that year.³⁰ In passing, it might be noted that Teplov’s archive contains a draft copy of rules for the use of the library which stipulated that borrowed books should be returned within two weeks otherwise a fine would be incurred of one penny for every day overdue. Whether Mrs Garnett’s ‘small subscription’ would have been enough to cover that substantial fine is not recorded.³¹ However that may be it would appear that her relations with Teplov remained amicable. On 3 February 1903 she wrote again to say she had recommended him as a thoroughly competent teacher to a lady studying Russian³² and then, later still, in May 1907, sent another letter, passing on her warmest good wishes and asking to borrow an issue of the journal *Byloe* (The Past) which contained an article by Madame S. A. Savinkova.³³ Garnett’s translation of that article ‘Vospominaniia materi’ appeared shortly thereafter in the *Albany Review* as ‘A Russian Mother’.³⁴

Here, then, we have some concrete examples of the value of the Free Library to a wider, non-Russian audience. Its popularity was in large part due to its extensive holdings of Russian books and journals, which some considered better than the London Library and, in some areas, surpassed even the British Museum (indeed, on a number of occasions the Museum was pleased to accept donations of rare Russian material from Teplov).³⁵

Unfortunately, extensive archival searches have not yet yielded a catalogue of the library although there are numerous references to the size and scope of the collections including a note from the *Russkoe emigrantskoe obshchestvo* (Russian Émigré Society) announcing its decision to donate to the library on a temporary loan basis its entire historical holdings.³⁶ From the above it is clear that Teplov and his Free Russian Library had succeeded in arousing the interest not only of the poor émigrés in the East End, but had also attracted the sympathies of, and in turn been of some considerable help to, a variety of English literary figures. Those groups, however, were by no means the only ones to take an interest in the library's business.

Surveillance of the Free Russian Library

The archives of the Sûreté Générale in Paris contain a series of fascinating reports compiled by one of their London agents in early 1902 in which the 'Whitechapel Group' was described as one of the main Russian political émigré associations in England,³⁷ and in which the startling claim was made that the Free Library in Church Lane was the 'rallying centre of the Russian revolutionary movement in London'!³⁸ According to this unidentified police agent, the group's members were mainly Jews who had fled Russia to escape military service. It was only later and, thanks to the radical literature put at their disposal in the library, that their political education was completed and that they became fully fledged revolutionaries. Teplov, the manager of the library, was described as 'one of the most influential members of the revolutionary party here'.³⁹

The Whitechapel Group, apparently, had a fairly mundane and limited programme which centred on two things: furthering the education of its members and finding work for new arrivals.⁴⁰ But the police agent went on to provide much more alarming news when he described how the library was now offering courses in practical chemistry and was giving instruction in complex substances and in 'Berthelot's formula for nitro-glycerine'.⁴¹ Furthermore, he reported on the group's intention to organize regular

Sunday trips to the countryside and, in passing, offered his own opinion that such excursions might give 'to those revolutionaries following a higher calling, the opportunity to perfect their skills in the manipulation of chemical compounds by carrying out open-air experiments'.⁴²

According to this agent, then, Teplov, the notorious Parisian bomber, was in fact still practising his black art under the guise of mild-mannered librarian. However, there is not a shred of evidence to be found in any of the French, British or Russian police archives examined to date which would substantiate such an allegation. On the contrary, there are indications that since his arrival in London Teplov had moved so far from his previous radical path that he almost sacrificed his friendship with his closest acquaintance, Vladimir Burtsev. Having in 1897 agreed to act as co-editor with Burtsev on the latter's new radical populist journal *Narodovolets*, Teplov found himself unable to agree with his colleague's denial of collective editorial responsibility and with his outspoken support of political terror and promptly withdrew from the board.⁴³ When, later that year, thanks to his journal's uncompromising stance, Burtsev was imprisoned for incitement to murder, Teplov immediately re-established contact and acted as his friend's link with the outside world, visiting him in prison and, with some difficulty, persuading the authorities to accept some Russian books for the detainee.⁴⁴

Of course it was not only the Sûreté who took an interest in the activities of the Free Library. The archives of the Russian secret police's Foreign Agency are of particular interest in this regard. A separate London office of the *agentura* had been established in the early 1890s and its members and activities were well known to Scotland Yard.⁴⁵ The principal tsarist agent in the capital at this time was a French citizen by the name of Edgar Jean Farce whose meticulous reports to his superiors covered the activities of all the revolutionaries in London and in much more detail than his counterpart in the Sûreté.⁴⁶ This is hardly surprising when we learn from one of his reports that one of his informants was 'a regular reader at the Russian Library'.⁴⁷

Of course the émigrés were well aware of spies in their midst. On one occasion in early 1905 Teplov himself was interviewed by the *London Daily Mail* for a long item describing the arrival in London of 'a special staff of Russian Police spies'. Teplov had shrugged it off saying: "We are used to spies by this time. A few extra cannot make a difference to us." And he laughed merrily as he recalled some of his own experiences with the detectives.⁴⁸

Indeed, at this point Teplov was much more concerned with the immediate problems he faced within the library itself. In the summer of 1904 he had been obliged to quit Church Lane at short notice and had decided to enter into a part-share agreement with the owners of a terraced house at number 16 Princelet Street, just off Brick Lane.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the owners happened to be the East London Jewish Branch of the Social Democratic Federation who intended to turn their part of the building into a *Dom Naroda* or 'People's Home' (also often referred to as the 'Maison du Bund') and, indeed, the opening of this club was duly celebrated on 30 July 1904 with an International Socialist Banquet chaired by none other than the founder of the SDF himself, Henry Mayers Hyndman.⁵⁰ This move of the library to its new address and its new association with the SDF was roundly criticized. Chaikovskii in particular was vehemently opposed saying it completely contradicted the *bespartiinyi* nature of the institution.⁵¹ It would appear that, following this disagreement, relations between the two cooled somewhat. Added to the loss of this valuable friendship Teplov had other concerns.

As the press reported later that year, one sector of the local population in the East End was particularly angered by the new arrivals to the point of resorting to actual physical violence. This aggrieved group was none other than the local Jewish community itself. Directly opposite No. 16 Princelet Street was a synagogue whose orthodox (and mostly English) members objected to the fact that the new 'alien' arrivals did not observe the Day of Atonement by fasting and set about assaulting these freethinkers and smashing the windows of the library. The disturbances reached such a level that over 100 extra police had to be called in to break up the crowds and protect houses and restaurants in the area. Two socialists were arrested and in the witness box stated that, indeed, they did not observe the Day of Atonement but denied they were in any way the aggressors. The magistrate agreed, saying it was abundantly clear who had begun the attack and hoped that next year the 'orthodox' would be the persons brought before him.⁵²

All of these events were, of course, duly recorded by agent Farce in his dispatches. He and his Sûreté compatriots continued to follow Teplov's every movement and also filed reports on his reactions and those of his comrades in the East End to the tumultuous events which were then unfolding in Russia and which, in the course of 1905, appeared to be building to a climax. By November these reports contained news of an increase also in British police presence in the East End with constables and detectives

almost permanently stationed at the doors of the revolutionary and anarchist clubs and at the Maison du Bund.⁵³ Then, on 13 November 1905, Farce filed his final report on Princelet Street recording simply that: 'For some days now red and black flags have been flying from the windows of the Russian Library'.⁵⁴

In Russia the scent of victory was in the air. With the publication of the Tsar's October Manifesto and his subsequent declaration of an amnesty for political refugees, many in the Russian East End decided to make an immediate return to their homeland, abandoning both the Socialist Club and the Free Library. By the end of the year the house in Princelet Street had been vacated.⁵⁵ Whether Teplov also left for Russia at this time is unclear although the Sûreté received a report suggesting he may have done so and, indeed, Teplov's archive contains no further reference to his or his library's whereabouts until May 1907.⁵⁶ By this time he was using 106 Commercial Road, Whitechapel as his correspondence address but due to a scarcity of archival documents for the period it is unknown how much of his earlier business he was able to conduct.

A Personal Tragedy Compounded

Teplov's archive, like so many others, contains a fascinating mix of the public and private and a particularly poignant example of the latter is a letter dated 10 July 1910. Sent from Clapham Maternity Hospital it concerns the tragic death of a baby son, newly delivered to Teplov's wife, Tatiana Alekseevna. The letter, however is not one of commiseration but rather a request that the father arrange to have the body removed as soon as possible as the hospital had no mortuary.⁵⁷ Further misfortunes were to follow.

The passing of the 1905 Aliens Act had done little to improve the reception of East European émigrés in Britain. Nor was this state of affairs made any better by the events of 16 December 1910 when a gang of Latvian 'revolutionary expropriators' murdered three policemen in cold blood in Houndsditch, East London. The situation was further inflamed in the first days of the New Year when, after a long and violent gun battle, the infamous siege at 100 Sidney Street, Stepney ended with the death of two of the gang members and an innocent neighbour. The supposed leader of the gang, the so-called 'Peter the Painter', however, escaped capture and sparked an outcry for revenge in the national press. The *Daily Express*, in particular, was quick in its attempts to articulate the British public's feel-

ings of anger and disgust. In leading articles it denounced 'foreign aliens', criticized the weakness of the Liberal government for letting the Aliens Act drift and called for its immediate enforcement. Then, three days after the siege, on Friday 6 January 1911, the *Express* carried a startling front-page story in which their Berlin correspondent wrote:

'If, as the latest telegrams state, "Peter the Painter" has not been killed or arrested and is still at large, then London must be prepared for some other ferocious outrage, because he is known as one of the worst desperadoes who ever figured in the anarchist movement.' This expression of opinion was given to me today by an authority on the international Anarchist movement whose views are based on accurate knowledge. Here are some facts about Peter the Painter which were known to the Berlin authorities and communicated to the London police eight months ago.

'Peter's' real name is Teploff. He is a Russian by birth, and joined the Russian terrorist movement at an early age. He has the appearance of a man of fifty, although he really is not much over forty.

This astonishing story continued for several more paragraphs detailing Teplov's involvement in the Paris Bomb Plot, his imprisonment and expulsion from France and then going on to describe him as the acknowledged leader of a seventeen-strong group of Russian terrorists currently headquartered in Stepney. Moreover, according to the 'authority on international Anarchism', there existed a second, Polish terrorist group 'whose manifestoes are all printed in the Hebrew language, so that the British authorities may be in ignorance of [certain] facts'.⁵⁸

The following day the *Express* revealed the source of this alarming anti-Jewish scare-mongering to be none other than Dr Eugene Henniger, head of Berlin's political police.⁵⁹ And, to add insult to injury, they carried another story corroborating the outrageous libel. This time it came from their Paris correspondent who wrote:

M. Xavier Guichard, chief of the 'Anarchist Brigade' of the Paris police force tells me that the description of 'Peter the Painter' corresponds closely with that of Teploff, the Russian Anarchist who was sentenced in 1890 in Paris to imprisonment for manufacturing explosives and who went to London after serving his time.⁶⁰

Teplov, once he had recovered from the shock of these unprovoked and totally unfounded attacks, reacted quickly, appointing a firm of solicitors and issuing a high court writ.⁶¹ Perhaps not surprisingly, two months later *The*

Express would openly admit their error, agree to pay damages of £100 and print an apology for their libel, which they buried at the foot of page two.⁶²

Sadly, Teplov's misfortunes did not end there for, in deciding to contribute a mere £5 from his substantial damages award to the defence fund for the émigrés accused in the Houndsditch affair, he caused much annoyance amongst the community and their supporters. J. Frederick Green for one, expressed his disgust at this act of meanness, stating: 'I do not believe that Teplov has any moral right to put that money in his own pocket'.⁶³ Thus it was that Teplov lost another influential friend.

The Russian Institute and Library

For some time the library's affairs had not been running smoothly. Teplov was suffering from bouts of poor health and during his periods of convalescence received numerous reports from his staff complaining that others had failed to turn up for duty and that, as a consequence, the library had been unable to open to the public.⁶⁴ The situation did not improve with the outbreak of war and, eventually, in February 1915, the Library was again obliged to close temporarily. Increasingly, expressions of discontent were being voiced by members of the Lectures' Committee, most noticeably David Soskice, who believed a 'restructuring' was long overdue. Dr Soskice, a Ukrainian lawyer, had offered his services as lecturer shortly after his arrival in emigration in London in 1898 and over the years had become increasingly involved in the library's other affairs. His correspondence with Teplov was marked by a seriousness and lack of humour for which he was noted.⁶⁵ This was apparent, particularly, in those letters in which he expressed his concerns over the poor organisation of the library's administration.⁶⁶ He made no secret of his desire to wrest control of the library's finances from Teplov in whose hands they had rested from the outset. Soskice believed it was all the more important that the library's affairs should be set in order before it reopened its doors at its next new address – 27 Sandy's Row, Whitechapel. It may be that he suspected some financial impropriety on Teplov's part and although this was never spelled out it led inevitably to a cooling of relations to the point where the two could only communicate via an intermediary.⁶⁷ By the time of the library's relocation in October 1916 Soskice had succeeded in winning the support not only of the Corporation of Orderlies but also of Hagberg Wright, Green and others on the Lectures' Committee, which had now transformed itself into an 'Organising Committee'. One of the

first acts of the new management was to change the institution's name to: 'The Russian Institute and Library', and to cut its opening hours by fifty percent ... (plus ça change!).⁶⁸ While Teplov retained his title of Librarian and Secretary he lost control of the Institute's financial administration to a newly appointed treasurer. Worse was to follow in two months when, after another meeting of Soskice's Committee, Teplov and his wife were informed they had until February to quit the chief librarian's apartment they had been occupying in Sandy's Row 'in order to free the rooms which are urgently required for the work of the Institute'.⁶⁹ The devastated, homeless couple were offered some financial assistance to help them find new lodgings but it would appear, by this time, they had suffered enough humiliation.

Demise of Teplov and the Free Russian Library

Following the February Revolution many émigrés started cautiously to return to Russia, and, in due course, a disconsolate Teplov, together with his wife and daughter, followed suit, setting sail from Aberdeen and arriving back on Russian soil on 29 August 1917.⁷⁰ The family spent a few months in St Petersburg and then, in 1918, returned home to Penza. There is some evidence that Teplov attempted to take an interest in the affairs of the new government, writing a handful of letters to Kalinin and, indeed, to Lenin himself in which he complained about the state of affairs in Turkestan and commented on the dreadful events in Fergana following the famine.⁷¹ Unfortunately, nothing more is known of the last two years of Aleksei L'vovich's eventful life. He passed away on 17 October 1920 at the age of 68. Sadly, neither the cause of his death nor the place of his burial are recorded.

The fate of his beloved library is equally uncertain. The librarian B. P. Kanevskii referred to a study of British public libraries in the early 1920s carried out by the Soviet scholar, I. Zvavich, who had uncovered a collection of over 500 Russian books in Whitechapel Public Library.⁷² To Kanevskii it was 'evident' that these books had originally formed part of the Free Russian Library but, in fact, this was not the case for, as the same study stated, the Whitechapel Library's main source of Russian material for some years had been gifts of duplicates from the London Library.⁷³ Demand for such books, however, had long since vanished. On leaving the East End Zvavich commented:

The impression I took away from my visit was not a positive one. It appeared to me that this small corner of the Russian book which, in fact, had not even been touched by the breath of the Revolution, was facing extinction in the very near future.⁷⁴

The wealthy inhabitants of the area, he pointed out, no longer had any need for Russian books, and it would appear he was right. On 7 February 1921 the *Times* carried the following small notice:

Many people who can read Russian will be glad to know that the Russian Library, which has existed for 20 years, has moved to a more accessible neighbourhood. It is now installed with its 8,000 books at 116 New Oxford Street, and Dr Hagberg-Wright, Librarian at the London Library has become its president. As it needs funds to cover the expense of moving, to bind old books and to purchase new ones, it has arranged a Bal masqué at the Portman Rooms on February 18th for which tickets may be had at the Library any evening except Wednesday, between 5 and 7.⁷⁵

Teplov, then, had seen his library's collections grow substantially since its inception but from this notice it is unclear whether the institution still managed to uphold its principle of free access. Moreover, one wonders whether the masked-ball in question would have brought in sufficient funds to maintain the library in business and to meet the rental payments on its expensive, new West-End Location. Many of its original readers, like its chief librarian, had long since returned to their motherland and/or passed on and the 'Russomania' which had swept Britain some twenty years earlier had now been replaced by a fascination for a new Russia and its new literature. Whether this latest incarnation of the Russian Library succeeded in attracting a new clientele is uncertain since, following this brief notice in the *Times*, it appears to have sunk without trace.

Aleksei Teplov's destiny, in the end, had been to follow the path not of professional radical revolutionary but of amateur librarian-propagandist engaged, not in the fabrication of explosives, but in peaceful mass education, and there is no question that, in creating his Free Library in a small corner of London's East End, Teplov contributed more to the cause of revolution in Russia than a terrorist's bombs ever could.

Endnotes

¹ This article is based in part on a paper presented at the conference 'Russia in Britain, 1880–1940: Reception, Translation and the Modernist Cultural Agenda', Birkbeck College, University of London, 25–26 June 2009. A Russian version appeared as 'Russkaia besplatnaia biblioteka v Ist-Ende', in O. Morgunova (ed.), *Russkoe prisutstvie v Britanii* (Moscow, 2010).

² Nikolai Vasil'evich Chaikovskii (1850–1926). Father of Russian populism.

³ *Free Russia*, 1 March 1902, vol. 13, no. 3 p. 36: 'Meetings and Lectures'.

⁴ E. Armfelt, 'Russia in East London', *Living London*, vol. 1, 6 November 1901, pp. 24–28.

⁵ The library did, however, receive a brief mention in B. P. Kanevskii, 'Russkaia kniga v Britanskom muzee v XIX veke', *Trudy Biblioteka SSSR im. Lenina*, vol. XI (Moscow, 1969) pp. 124–125.

⁶ Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (hereafter GARF), f. 1721, op. 1. Teplov, Aleksei L'vovich. This extensive archive comprises no fewer than 212 files, each containing anything up to 400 individual documents.

⁷ See GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, ll. 1–4 and ed. khr. 153, ll. 1–6. 'Avtobiografiia'. Also, A. L. Teplov, 'Avtobiografiia', and F. I. Samarin, 'K biografii narodovol'tsa A. L. Teplova', *Zemlia Rodnaia* 1959, nos. 22/23. Also, O. D. Sokolov, *Na zare rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 203–204. Also biographical note at http://bogorodsk-noginsk.ru/biblioteka/new_2009_4_2.html (accessed 18 September 2010).

⁸ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 153, ll. 1–6.

⁹ V. L. Burtsev, *Za sto let 1800–1896. Sbornik po istorii politicheskikh i obshchestvennykh dvizhenii v Rossii*, (London, 1897) p. 96.

¹⁰ *The Times*, 5 July 1890, p. 7: 'Trial Of Nihilists In Paris'.

¹¹ The others imprisoned were B. Reinshtein, A. Lavrenius, M. Nakachidze, I. N. Kashintsev and E. D. Stepanov.

¹² Vladimir L'vovich Burtsev (1862–1942), revolutionary historian and journalist.

¹³ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 26, ll. 1–16.

¹⁴ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 26, ll. 17–25.

¹⁵ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 4, l. 1, 2. 13 July 1898.

¹⁶ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 46, l. 46.

¹⁷ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, ll. 27, 28.

¹⁸ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 4, l. 56.

¹⁹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 86, l. 100.

²⁰ *Free Russia*, 1 June 1902, vol. 13, no. 6, p. 68. 'For the Cause of Education in East London'.

²¹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 86, l. 126, 28 June 1904.

²² GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 153, l. 3.

²³ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 41.

²⁴ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 41, ll. 150–151. Another later, more mundane request originated in Tambov in 1913, and came from a gentleman who wished to acquire two books on knitting machines published in America in 1909. That Teplov did not ignore this request is shown by his pencil annotation at the foot of the letter reading: 'Strand – Foyle's'. See ed. khr. 41, ll. 243–244.

²⁵ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 86, l. 17, 2 November 1898.

²⁶ Sir Charles Theodore Hagberg Wright (1862–1940). See GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, l. 169, and ed. khr. 85, ll. 100, 104–105, 139–141, 145–147, 192: a series of letters and cards dating from Jan. 1905 to 1917 requesting loans of specific Russian books, and for information on various aspects of Russian life and customs, etc.

²⁷ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, l. 14, 15, 10 September 1898.

²⁸ J. Slatter, 'Bears in the Lion's Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction, 1880–1914', *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 77, no. 1 (January 1999) p. 37.

²⁹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, l. 91, 29 September 1902.

³⁰ L. Tolstoy, *The death of Ivan Ilych: and other stories: A new translation from the Russian by Constance Garnett* (London: Heinemann, 1902.) Alternatively, it may have been an edition of *Voina i Mir*, Garnett's first translation of which was published in 1904.

³¹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 4, ll. 99–100.

³² GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, l. 119, 8 February 1903.

³³ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 86, l. 269 May 24 1907. S. A. Savinkova, 'Na volosok ot kazni. (Vospominaniia materi)', *Byloe*, 1907, No. 1 January pp. 247–271.

³⁴ *Albany Review*, April–May 1907, pp. 86–101, 204–40. Cited in Richard Garnett, *Constance Garnett. A Heroic Life* (London, 1991), p. 384, note 7.

³⁵ See for example GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, ll. 33–34. Letter of 29 November 1900 from Arthur W. K. Miller, Assistant Keeper at the British Museum, accepting an offer of some newspapers from the Russian Free Library. Also, l. 57, a note from Keeper G. K. Fortescue of 24 May 1901 acknowledging receipt of *Amurskii Krai* for 1900.

³⁶ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 31, ll. 74–75, 10 June 1903. See also ed. khr. 56 which comprises a series of letters dating from 1899–1915 from A. and K. Tar concerning the compilation of a catalogue.

³⁷ Archives nationales, Paris (hereafter AN), F/7/12521/2: Angleterre (1887–1908), Reports for 21 January, 28 February, and 15 March 1902. The other centres were the Hammersmith Group which included all those associated with the Russian Free Press Fund and Chertkov's Tolstoyan colony in Christchurch.

³⁸ AN, F/7/12521/2: Angleterre (1887–1908) 17 May 1902. p. 1.

³⁹ AN, F/7/12521/1: Suisse (1882–1909), 17 February 1904.

⁴⁰ The archive contains numerous documents pointing to the institution's secondary role as a Labour Bureau which was staffed on a rota basis by certain members of the Lecturers' Committee and their wives. See, for example, GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 26, ll. 335, 346.

⁴¹ Marcellin Berthelot (1827–1907). French chemist.

⁴² AN, F/7/12521/2: Angleterre (1887–1908), 12 July 1902.

⁴³ GARF, f. 102, del. 3, op. 88 (1890), d. 569, ll. 232, 263–264.

⁴⁴ TNA, HO 144/272/A59222B/21: A. L. Teplov to Home Office, 22 November 1898.

⁴⁵ In fact, it is clear they cooperated in a number of areas. Farce himself in a later report outlined his relationship with Special Branch, explaining that, thanks to his ability to read and understand Yiddish, he was able to pass on information from the local newspapers to Scotland Yard officers who in turn passed on information that would otherwise have been impossible for him to obtain.

⁴⁶ The National Archives (hereafter TNA) KV 6/47, 8 December 1904 (274/B).

⁴⁷ Archives of the Hoover Institution (hereafter HIA), Okhrana Archive, 54/VI/k/23 c. 20 Sep 1905.

⁴⁸ *London Daily News*, 27 January 1905, p. 6. 'Spies in London: Watching Russian Refugees'.

⁴⁹ AN, F/7/12521/2: Angleterre (1887–1908), report of 4 June 1904.

⁵⁰ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 87, l. 10.

⁵¹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 31, ll. 72, 73, 5 July 1903 and ed. khr. 46, l. 66 (undated).

⁵² *The Times*, 21 September 1904; p. 13. 'Jewish Disturbances'.

⁵³ AN, F/7/12521/2: Angleterre (1887–1908), 16 November 1905.

⁵⁴ HIA, Okhrana Archive, 54/VI/k/23 c, 13 November 1905.

⁵⁵ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 4, l. 20, 4 January 1906. 106 Commercial Road was the business address of a Mr Isaac Kahn/Kahan, and was used frequently thereafter. Also, ed. khr. 46, l. 32, 19 February 1906. Postcard from Russia expressing condolences on hearing that the library has closed.

⁵⁶ M. Lesure, 'Les mouvements révolutionnaires russes de 1882 à 1910 d'après le fonds F7 des Archives nationales', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, vol. 6 (April–June 1965), pp. 310.

⁵⁷ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, l. 213. Mme. Teplov (Tat'iana Alekseevna Kazarkina) had suffered a previous loss in 1904 when she had miscarried in a Swiss hospital. See ed. khr. 8, l. 159. Fortunately, in December 1911 the couple were eventually blessed with a daughter, Elena-Larissa. See ed. khr. 8, l. 145.

⁵⁸ *Daily Express*, 6 January 1911, p. 1, 'Peter the Painter'.

⁵⁹ *Daily Express*, 7 January 1911, p. 1, 'Berlin Experts' Cure for Anarchy'.

⁶⁰ *Daily Express*, 7 January 1911 p. 1, "'Peter the Painter" in Paris.' Xavier Guichard (1870–1947) French Director of Police appears under his own name in the novels of Georges Simenon, of whom he was a close associate, as the superior of Jules Maigret.

⁶¹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, ll. 294–6. Teploff v *Daily Express*, High Court King's Bench. Writ issued 10 Jan 1911.

⁶² *Daily Express*, 31 March 1911, p. 2. 'Peter the Painter'. In fact, the newspaper did little more than express their regret that 'the information given to our correspondents was inaccurate'.

⁶³ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 84, l. 267–268, 7 April 1911.

⁶⁴ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 46.

⁶⁵ Robert Gomme, 'Soskice, David Vladimirovich (1866–1941)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, January 2008 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50761>, accessed 18 Sept. 2010).

⁶⁶ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 52, l. 15–17, 23 December 1914 to 6 January 1915.

⁶⁷ Indeed, from the archive it would appear that Teplov made no distinction between public and private accounting, with numerous of Mrs Teplov's bills from Debenhams and other West End stores interfiled with the Library's other business receipts. See for example GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 26, l. 339 etc.

⁶⁸ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 24, l. 29. The new hours were 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays and 12 noon to 10 p.m. Sundays.

⁶⁹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 85, l. 196. Letter from Green, 27 February 1917.

⁷⁰ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 153, ll. 7–8.

⁷¹ GARF, f. 1721, op. 1, ed. khr. 137, ll. 1–25. Under the command of Ia. K. Peters from 1920–1922, the Turkestan Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party violently suppressed all signs of anti-bolshevism in the region. At this time, Fergana and much of the rest of Uzbekistan suffered a dreadful famine as a result of collectivisation.

⁷² Kanevskii (note 5) and I. Zvavich. '*Russkaia kniga v Anglii. (Pis'mo iz Londona)*', *Pechat' i revoliutsiia*, 1923, kn. 6, pp. 98–114.

⁷³ Zvavich (note 66) p. 101. In June 1913 alone Hagberg Wright donated 390 Russian items to the library. See Stepney Libraries and Museums Committee, *Registers of Donations*, 1891–1922 (STE/731), p. 195. Also, *The Times*, 4 November 1912, p. 4: 'Books for Russian Emigrants'.

⁷⁴ Zvavich (note 66) p. 103, 104.

⁷⁵ *The Times*, 7 February 1921, p. 8. 'Ball for the Russian Library'.

A Book of Gospels from the Family of the First Romanovs

Closing a Circle in the History of a Dynasty

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In the year 2000 the Tsarskoe Selo State Museum and Reserve received from Pavlovsk a large consignment of books: about 4000 volumes originally held by the Tsarskoe Selo Imperial Memorial Library.¹

Among other rare items returned to the Tsarskoe Selo museums, one book stood out by virtue of its antiquity: an Evangeliary or Book of Gospels dated 1627 in a seventeenth-century binding, with the boards covered in cloth and engraved silver ornamentation on the front cover. This book, printed at the Moscow Printing House (*Moskovskii Pechatnyi Dvor*), is now a great rarity in its own right. Gospel books, being liturgical works, were in constant use and rapidly became worn out and dilapidated.

The 1627 Evangeliary is regarded by specialists as an outstanding example of printing skills, having four engravings drawn by the celebrated Russian icon-painter of the Stroganov school, Prokopii Chirin, and engraved by Kondrat Ivanov. 'This is a book of the highest quality, both in the quality of its printing and in its design'.² It is not surprising that this particular Evangeliary of 1627 was subsequently imitated by other publishers, nor that the engravings which originally appeared in it were replicated in later editions, fourteen of which were issued over the following 41 years.

However, what renders this book not only rare and valuable but truly unique is an inscription in Cyrillic semi-uncial script written on the first fourteen leaves nearly four hundred years ago:

In the year 7136 in the month of October on the 18th day, the feast of Saint Luke the Apostle and Evangelist, the Pious and God-Fearing Sovereign Great Nun Marfa Ivanovna donated to the Church of the True and Glorious Annunciation of the Immaculate Virgin and of the Great Hierarch Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the Monastery of the Annunciation in the District of Kashin, this printed Book of the Four Gospels, for the altar, clothed in black velvet, decorated with the Evangelists in silver gilt. In the presence of Igumen Mikhei and

his fraternity. And whoever removes this Book of the Gospels from the Church of the Immaculate Virgin or gives it to a relative or sells it or pawns it or subjects it to any mischief, him God will judge at the Second and Terrible Coming of the Lord, and he will answer before God. Signed by the Igumen Mikhei in his own hand in the year 7136.
[7136 corresponds to 1627 in the new calendar.]

This copy from the Monastery of the Annunciation in Kashin also bears the marks from its long years of service. Many pages are stained with wax; the corners of leaves have been badly torn; the black velvet in which the book was ‘clothed’ has turned into a very thin and worn dull blue fabric; and the wooden boards are covered with cracks and eaten away by insects. Nevertheless, considering that the book has never undergone any restoration work, its condition is fairly good. Most importantly, it has retained the original binding from the first third of the seventeenth century, together with all the ‘Evangelists in silver gilt’ – that is, the engraved corner-pieces – and also the centrepiece, the ‘Crucifixion with figures in the foreground’ on the front cover.

The ‘Sovereign Great Nun (*Gosudarynia Velikaia Staritsa Inoka*) Marfa Ivanovna’ who donated this book to the monastery at Kashin was the mother of Michael Fedorovich (1596–1631), the first Tsar of the Romanov dynasty.

Marfa Ivanovna (c. 1570–1631) who bore the name Kseniia Ivanovna Shestova until she was forced to take the veil, came from the boyar family of Morozov. She was the wife of one of the highest-born and richest figures in the country – the boyar Fedor Nikitich Romanov (c. 1554–1633),³ a very close kinsman of the Tsar Fedor Ivanovich.

Their only son Michael was called to the throne by the Assembly of the Land (*Zemskii sobor*) in 1613 after the ending of the Riurik dynasty in 1598 and the disturbed years of the Time of Troubles. In those stormy and unpredictable times the young Romanov and his mother had hidden themselves from the Poles, and from other pretenders to the Russian throne, at the Ipatiev Monastery in Kostroma, while Michael’s father was held in Polish captivity. A numerous deputation delegated by the Assembly made its way from Moscow to the Ipatiev Monastery to ‘bow their heads’ to Michael Fedorovich and his mother, petitioning him to become head of state as the new Tsar.

At first the pleas of the deputation were met by a decisive refusal: Sister Marfa Ivanovna, mother of a family which had suffered many hardships and losses during the Time of Troubles, sincerely attempted to decline the

lofty but difficult and dangerous role on behalf of her only surviving son, and did not wish to give her blessing to him as Tsar. The tragic fate of the previous two elected Tsars, Godunov and Shuiskii, could only deter both mother and son. The disintegration of the state, the treachery and vacillation among the boyars and the people, the youth of the elected Tsar – none of these could offer much hope to a new ruler of the Russian state. Marfa replied to the boyars that her son was ‘not of full age ... and how can he, though born a sovereign, become a ruler of the realm of Muscovy, seeing that previous sovereigns have suffered such calvaries, disgrace, murders and desecrations?’⁴ The young Michael, under strong pressure from his mother, declined the throne ‘with great anger and weeping’. Only when the envoys in desperation cited the wrath of God that would fall upon one who refused to save the state from complete ruin, did Sister Marfa give her blessing to her son becoming Tsar.

The coronation and anointing of Michael Fedorovich took place on 11 July at the Uspenskii Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. The Assembly arranged for several of the Kremlin chambers to be prepared as accommodation for the young Tsar: the central Golden Chamber, the Faceted Chamber, and the old mansion of Tsar Ivan Vasil’evich – a clear reminder of the close relationship between the newly elected Tsar and the previous dynasty. This deferred to the traditions of old Moscow, firmly linked with the past.

When referring to his election, Michael always repeated that ‘he came to his great realm by the blessing of his mother, the Great Sovereign and Nun Marfa Ivanovna’.⁵ Accounts of the Romanovs’ accession give particular emphasis to the mother of the dynasty’s founder. One of them contains these words: ‘His pious mother, the Great Nun Marfa, ruled under him and supported the realm with her offspring while his father was imprisoned by the Polish King’. Marfa’s direct influence on affairs is evident from the charters granted to a number of monasteries during the second year of Romanov rule. These charters begin with the words: ‘By the grace of God We, the Great Sovereign ... and Our Mother the Sovereign Great Nun Marfa Ivanovna, have granted ...’. There even exist charters in the name of the Great Nun alone.

As a pious and respectful son, Michael Fedorovich took care to ensure a high rank for his father (Fedor Nikitich, who in monastic life took the name Filaret, was appointed Patriarch) and his mother (she became Mother Superior of the Voznesenskii Convent in the Kremlin, where women of the royal house usually entered conventual life). Marfa Ivanovna was very

strict in matters of faith, but was not unaffected by secular life. She set up a workshop for gold embroidery in the convent, where coverings were made for the royal tombs and for the relics of saints. Ceremonial clothing for Michael, and cassocks and robes for Filaret, were also produced there. Marfa regarded it as her duty to look after the disgraced and widowed wives of former Tsars who were then living in remote convents in the North and the Urals.

There is some evidence of Marfa Ivanovna's literacy. 'Once a piece of morocco leather was given out to the monk Iosif, to make a prayer-book for Marfa Ivanovna'. Another time the Great Nun demanded for herself 'a book printed on paper of Basil of Caesarea in a sheepskin binding, and a psalter written with canticles, bound in blue morocco'.⁶

The entire Romanov family was notable for its piety. On the initiative of Michael and Patriarch Filaret, a great many new churches were erected in honour of every possible occasion, and new church festivals were established. Tsar Michael extended his particular patronage to monasteries. On a number of occasions he and his mother went on foot to distant monasteries to pray for the speedy resolution of difficulties, and then undertook ever more extensive pilgrimages to render thanks to God.

For a long time the multitude of difficult problems facing the young Tsar delayed any decision on the question of his marriage, but an heir to the throne was essential for the continuation of the dynasty. After several unsuccessful efforts, the choice fell on Evdokiia Luk'ianovna Streshneva, a modest beauty from a little-known family. The wedding took place in February 1626 in the Uspenskii Cathedral. Marfa did all she could to make her son's marriage a success, even concealing the bride's coronet in her personal chest under her own seal to protect it from the evil eye. All these efforts helped her to form a warm relationship with the Tsarina Evdokiia. They often went together on pilgrimage to distant monasteries.

In April 1627 the first child was born to the young royal family, their daughter Irina. She became a favourite of Marfa, who made dolls for her to play with and spoiled her with special sweetmeats. The little girl fully returned her grandmother's affection. Later on she was even to order that she should be buried beside Marfa at the Novospasskii Monastery, rather than at the Voznesenskii in the Kremlin where tsarinas and tsarevnas were normally buried. Probably it was the birth of this long-awaited granddaughter in 1627 which also caused Marfa Ivanovna to make a donation

to the Sheren (or Shirin) Monastery of the Annunciation in the Kashin district of Tver' province.

The tradition of donations goes back to the early years of Christianity. People of all social classes were concerned for the saving of their own souls and those of their kin. Donations, or offerings, were made 'for the health' of the living or in remembrance of deceased relatives, when taking the veil at a convent, when making a bequest, on important family occasions, and so on, sometimes to several monasteries simultaneously. Donations could include books, items of church furnishing, general household articles and other property, livestock (if the donor was a peasant), and also money. The monks or cathedral clergy who received the offering had to pray for the health of the donors and their relations, or for the repose of a donor's deceased kin. Because of the holiness of the place and the fervour of the monastic prayers, this form of remembrance was regarded as particularly conducive to salvation. Besides this, in the case of especially generous donors, requiem services were held, alms were distributed to the poor, and a commemorative meal (*korm*) was instituted for the fraternity on the donor's saint's day.

A procedure for the commemoration of donors was established in most monasteries in the second half of the sixteenth century. The seventy-fifth chapter in the Code of the Hundred Chapter Synod (*Stoglavyi sobor*) of 1551 stipulated that the monastery authorities should compile information about the donors, 'institute feasts and sing requiems in their memory, and hold masses, and feed the fraternity according to the rules of the monastery'. The period over which the donor and his kin were to be remembered was generally set at a rate of one year for every rouble for a single individual. Details of the donations and donors, of the conditions under which the donations were made, the circumstances in which donations were handed over, and the obligations which the monastery assumed with regard to them, were all recorded in *sinodiki* or memorial lists, and from the middle of the sixteenth century in special donation books. In those cases where a book was presented as a donation, all these details were inscribed on the pages of the book itself; they were termed donative inscriptions (*vkładnye zapisi*).

As a result of such donations, over the centuries monastic houses amassed unique collections of antiquities and very rich libraries. The most generous donors were, of course, the rulers and members of their families. Donations received from them were usually religious books, icons and church furnishings. The book most frequently presented was the Evangeliary, or

Four Gospels, as being that part of the New Testament most important to Orthodox Christians. Such books were normally bound in velvet (some scholars suggest that the skin of a slaughtered animal was regarded as an unacceptable material for the binding of a holy book), and they were frequently enclosed in a cover made of precious metals and jewels. In the early seventeenth century, at the dawn of Russian printing, a book was a great rarity and was generally identified with the Bible⁷ and the Gospels. The concept of 'books' (*knigi*) in the plural was not current. There was one Book – the Bible – and people read it all their lives. To the devout person of that time, a Bible was not simply a valuable object, and indeed not so much an object of material culture at all, but rather a kind of spiritual essence, because: 'In the beginning was the Word. And the Word was with God. And the Word was God'.⁸

It is therefore not surprising that the donation presented to the distant monastery in Kashin by the 'Pious and God-Fearing' Nun Marfa Ivanovna shortly after the birth of her granddaughter Irina was indeed a Book of Gospels. We may note, looking ahead, that after Irina's death a donation made in her memory also took the form of a Book of Gospels: 'Printed in 1677. Presented on 1 February 1679 by the Tsarevna Tat'iana Mikhailovna in eternal memory of her sister the Tsarevna Princess Irina Mikhailovna. At the Novospasskii Monastery'.⁹

Monasteries in pre-Petrine Russia were centres of the spiritual, religious, moral and cultural life of the Russian people. From the earliest days of Christianity in Russia they spread the light of religious education: pastors of the church, pious zealots, educators and mentors of the people – all went forth from the monastic houses. Conscious of their splendid heritage of early Christian culture, diligent monks translated and transcribed the works of their predecessors and the Fathers of the Church, and compiled and bound books. As the centres of scholarship for their time, monasteries attracted people with sharp and enquiring minds, being effectively the only places which could satisfy their intellectual and spiritual needs.

Monasteries offered temporary shelter for pilgrims on the road: they could stop at any one and find a night's lodging, food, spiritual warmth and human company. Smaller monasteries and hermitages (*skity*), away from towns and settlements, were often places of pilgrimage. The deeper in the backwoods the monastery lay, and the further it was set apart from the vanities of worldly life, so much the greater was the grace to be found

there, and the higher the probability of meeting a true Orthodox ascetic or a revered wise monk.

The country around Tver' abounded in monasteries: in former times over a hundred were to be found within the boundaries of Tver' province, while in the Kashin district alone there were at least twenty religious houses.¹⁰

What kind of place was the Monastery of the Annunciation, lost in the forests of Tver'? Little is known about it. Most scholars (Archimandrite Amvrosii, V. Zverinskii, A. Ratshin) state that 'the date of its foundation is unknown'. P. M. Stroev suggests that: 'The Shirin monastery [of the Annunciation] was founded by Prince Georgii of Kashin'.¹¹ He probably has in mind the last prince of Kashin (before the Kashin principality lost its independence), Prince Iurii Ivanovich, a son of Tsar Ivan III Kalita. The reign of Iurii Ivanovich (1504–1533) was notable as a period of artistic activity and building in the lands of Kashin.¹²

The Monastery of the Annunciation was built 25 versts (17 miles) from the city of Kashin, in the Shirin (or Sheren) Forest, where the River Shirinka enters the Medveditsa. According to a description of 1710 written by the court official Timofei Akinfov Durov,¹³ the monastery possessed the following churches: the Church of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin, built of wood and heated, in honour of the renovation of the Cathedral of the Resurrection; 'and in the same monastery', says the description, 'is an old church with a hipped roof, dedicated to St Basil of Caesarea'. The authoritative scholar A. Ratshin¹⁴ believes that it was in this very place in the Sheren Forest, in an unequal struggle with the Tatars in 1238, that St Basil Konstantinovich, Prince of Rostov, grandson of Prince Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo and father of the legendary Boris and Gleb,¹⁵ was tortured to death. It is known that in the Monastery of the Annunciation in Shirin (or Sheren) there were two churches and two altars.¹⁶ According to the list of donations, the Book of Gospels was presented 'to the Church of the Immaculate Virgin ... and the great Hierarch Basil'. It is likely that the second altar was dedicated to St Basil the Great (of Caesarea, or Capadocia) for the very reason that he was the patron saint of Prince Basil of Rostov, whom the Church numbered among the company of martyrs. The Sovereign Nun Marfa Ivanovna evidently had a particular interest in this saint: it was not by chance that she 'demanded for herself a printed book ... of Basil of Caesarea'.

The names of the heads of the Annunciation Monastery can be traced back only as far as 1661. Besides several igumens (priors or abbots) who are

historically attested, legend tells of the igumen Ion, from the noble family of Kislovskii, 'which family were benefactors to the Shirin monastery, and in the former monastery church are to be found the tombs of certain members of the Kislovskii family'.¹⁷ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the fraternity of the Shirin monastery were very few in number: in 1710 it was inhabited by the igumen Feodosii, the ordained monk (*ieromonakh*) David, three or four monks, 'as well as a secular ('white') priest, ordained, probably a widower'.¹⁸ It is clear from documents in the archives of the Holy Synod that the monastery was well provided for: in 1722 it contributed a silver vessel and silver pieces to the Moscow Mint (*Denezhnyi dvor*).¹⁹ According to an audit of 1727 the monastery was among those subordinated to the Zheltikov Monastery in Tver' province. In 1755 a general survey of church lands in the Kashin district showed that the Shirin monastery owned the village on its own glebe (*sloboda*) and also the villages of Turovino, Oparnikovo, Batailovo and Okatovo. The monastery also held seven villages in the district of Korchevsk – in all, 101 homesteads, 364 male peasant 'souls' and 3405 desiatins (9200 acres) of land, with a further 505 desiatins (1360 acres) of waste ground.²⁰ The head of the monastery held the rank of igumen.

With the accession of Catherine II to the throne, the monasteries' situation within the state underwent drastic changes. The enlightened Empress expressed the fashionable opinion that 'the huge estates of the monasteries and churches owe their existence to fanaticism and superstition', propagated by an ill-educated clergy. The church reforms which she conceived were intended, in particular, to secularise church property and transfer the majority of church and monastery landholdings to the state, in order to use the income from church estates in the future 'for the glory of God and the benefit of the fatherland' and 'to make such arrangements as will assist in the true education of the people'.²¹ In 1764 the Shirin monastery, like many others, was dissolved and turned into a parish church. Sources from the second half of the nineteenth century attest that by that time nothing but a cemetery was left at the site.²²

It is not known to whom the property of the Shirin monastery was transferred. Usually, when the dissolution of a monastery resulted in the ending of church services, all its property, including any books, was passed on to the monastery to which the dissolved institution was subordinated. However, in this case, the Church of the Annunciation was initially 'converted' into a parish church, then dwindled to a small settlement, and in the end only a cemetery remained; that is to say the monastery declined in stages. On

the whole, it is unlikely that this Book of Gospels would have remained in the church, despite its status as an heirloom of the Romanovs. The church reforms of Patriarch Nikon, which began in the mid-seventeenth century, had as their aim the standardisation and revision of the Orthodox liturgy and, above all, the alteration of service books produced by the Moscow Pechatnyi Dvor so that they followed the Greek model. Churches and individual believers were forbidden to use any 'pre-Nikon' book in church worship. From this time onwards, Moscow books published up to 1652 were systematically removed from churches by the Patriarchate and exchanged 'free of charge' for 'newly revised' works. For example, an annotation made in 1696 in a copy of a 1641 edition of the Prologue²³ records that this book, placed in the Voskresenskii Monastery 'which is on Tverskaia Street' by Tsar Michael Fedorovich, was exchanged for a 'newly revised' Prologue. Pre-reform printed books became the basis for the preservation of the Old Believers' views on church and doctrine.²⁴ The adherents of the Old Belief expanded their activities as they acquired, through all available channels, 'books in the old writing' and 'books from before Nikon', most frequently by means of exchange or purchase from monasteries and churches.

Early in the twentieth century, after the publication of the Imperial Decree of 1905 'On strengthening the foundations of toleration', the Old Believers, who had suffered nearly 250 years of persecution, were granted the freedom to express their faith. Now they were allowed to form religious fraternities, publish their own religious literature, and erect prayer houses. They could hold councils and conferences openly, and perform the rites of the Old Believers freely and publicly in accordance with the early printed books. The newly formed religious fraternities, who held printed books of the pre-Nikon period in such high esteem, continued the careful preservation of valuable copies of works from the Moscow Pechatnyi Dvor from the first half of the seventeenth century. Many of the early printed liturgical works which have come to us carry stamps and annotations such as 'Petersburg Society of Old Believers of the Pomorsk Union', 'Okhta, Nikol'skaia Community', 'Public Prayer House of Christians of the Pomorsk Union', and many others. A stamp on another of the preserved copies of our 1627 Book of Gospels shows that it belonged to the Voskresenskii community of Old Believers in Petrograd.²⁵ Incidentally, some Old Believers who held leading positions in Russian mercantile circles in the early twentieth century also carried on a trade in church articles, ancient as well as modern. In one surviving Old Believer document, entitled 'A description of the stock of books, icons and

other offered and donated articles',²⁶ there is a list of antique items, with many of its archaeological treasures marked as sold or given away 'for living' (i.e. to raise funds for the community) or 'in exchange'.

When and how, then, did our Book of Gospels finally return to the Romanovs?

In 1917 the imperial libraries contained over 70,000 volumes, of which about 24,000 were housed in the Alexander Palace at Tsarskoe Selo. The books were mainly arranged according to the emperor to whom they had belonged. Most of the personal book collections were catalogued, yet not one of the catalogues held here contains an entry for the 1627 Book of Gospels. But if we turn to the inventories of the residential rooms in the Alexander Palace, we find that this book was classified as a relic and kept on the Emperor Nicholas II's own working desk in his principal study – that is, it was literally near at hand. Beside it stood a piece of sculpture: a bronze bust of Tsar Michael Fedorovich.

In the inventory, under the heading 'Comments', it is recorded that the book contained an explanatory note, which must have included information about when and in what circumstances the book was acquired; but this note has unfortunately been lost. However, a happy chance soon led us to documents which gave a full explanation for this book's appearance in the Alexander Palace.²⁷

In March 1916 the Empress Alexandra Fedorovna instructed Prince M. Putiatin, head of the Tsarskoe Selo palace administration, to seek out some antique items which she could give as an Easter present to her husband Nicholas II. From among the several items presented for her inspection, the Empress selected and ordered the early printed Book of Gospels of 1627 with the inscription showing the Sovereign Marfa Ivanovna as the donor.

For this book, the merchant S. I. Kozlov, who sold Old Believer articles from a shop in the Apraksin Dvor emporium, was asking 500 roubles. Puzzled by such a high price and recognising the historical importance of this article which was directly connected with the imperial family, Putiatin consulted a specialist in Russian history, Professor N. P. Likhachev of the Archaeological Institute. On seeing the book, Likhachev and other knowledgeable historians acknowledged its merits as an artefact, accepted the donative inscription recorded on its pages as authentic, and agreed that the sum for which the book could be obtained was consistent with its historical value.

Within the last Emperor's family, books were the favourite and most frequent items given as presents at Christmas, Easter and on other special occasions. Very often the gifts were religious works.

In the Alexander Palace at Tsarskoe Selo, where the imperial family was permanently resident from 1905 onwards, besides the 18,000 books kept in the four rooms of the library, over 6000 personal books belonging to the Emperor and his wife were to be found in their residential and formal apartments. 'There was a multitude of books', recalls Iuliia Den, a friend of Alexandra Fedorovna, describing the Tsarina's private rooms in the palace. They lay everywhere, in cupboards, on tables, and in revolving bookcases. In the Corner Drawing Room, by the entrance to the library rooms, the librarian would put out, on a small round table, new books and the latest journals, at the same time removing the previous issues. Alexandra spent more time in the Lilac Drawing Room than elsewhere: this was where she liked to read, sitting by the window in an armchair or on a couch, near which was a wall cupboard containing books. Here His Majesty often read aloud while the Empress and her daughters did their needlework. General A. A. Mosolov, for many years head of the chancellery at the Ministry of the Imperial Court, and well acquainted with the private life of the imperial family, writes in his memoirs: 'Reading together was the chief pleasure of the imperial couple, in which they sought spiritual intimacy and family comfort ... The hours for evening reading were especially strictly observed. It is hard to imagine anything which might have caused Her Majesty to agree to give up even a single evening of this reading tête-à-tête by the fireplace. The Tsar was an accomplished reader in many languages: Russian, English (in which Their Majesties conversed and corresponded), French, Danish, and even German ...'. The books were most often historical works or Russian novels. Alexandra Fedorovna herself preferred religious reading: the large number of books in her private apartments consisted predominantly of literature such as the lives of saints, works of the Church Fathers, liturgical works, and other books of a religious nature. In the Empress's study, drawing room and bedroom were kept copies of the Gospels from the reign of Alexander III as well as all the most recent versions, besides prayer-books and all obtainable descriptions of monasteries and churches. Many were in violet velvet bindings, and some in elaborate covers of carved ivory.

It is well known that Nicholas II and Alexandra Fedorovna were notably devout – something which distinguishes their lives from those of many other members of the imperial family as well as from court circles of that

time. Their mutual love, rare in its strength and devotion, was strikingly interwoven with a sincere love of God and a steadfast, unshakeable faith. We can find touching evidence of these elevated feelings in the published diaries and personal correspondence of this illustrious couple.

This is a note from Alix, addressed to her husband on New Year's Eve: 'To my only beloved darling with the sincerest prayers that God will generously bless for you the coming year of 1908, that He will send down upon you His blessing and give you the strength, energy and courage to bear your heavy burden. I tenderly thank you, my angel, for all your dear and unfailing love and for your patience with your little wife!'²⁸ And here is one of thousands of similar letters written before a parting: 'My dearly beloved, you will read these lines when the train has already taken you far away from your little wife and children. It is so hard to leave you on your own ... – but I know that you are safe in God's hands. May all things go well and not weary you too much – your heart will be gladdened when you see all the troops on that memorable battlefield.'²⁹ All the prayers and thoughts of your little wife will be with you, my dear beloved husband ... You will think of me this evening. We will be going to Confession after 9 o'clock..., and tomorrow morning we will take Holy Communion. This evening we are going to Vespers, then to the Ulanskaia Church, to attend the service for that great moment for which I am so ill prepared. This will be a great comfort during our separation, but I feel myself so unworthy of this blessing, so ill-prepared for it – you can never prepare yourself sufficiently...'.³⁰

In the same way, letters from Nicholas II show his love for his wife as inseparable from his faith: 'My own little bird, just a few words because again I have no time, the ministers have been sending me mountains of papers – I should have them finished by Easter. I thank you tenderly for your dear letter and the eggs ... This morning I thought so much about you in our little church – it was so good and peaceful there ... I will place the icon and the egg in the church facing the place where I stand ... My prayers and thoughts are with you, my little girl, the sun of my life'.³¹

The celebration of Easter, the glorious Resurrection of Christ and the chief Christian festival, was the one most loved by the Romanovs. They awaited the days of Easter with anticipation, prepared for them, and always found them a profound experience. The Easter celebrations had a special significance for Nicholas II in 1900, when the imperial family re-established a link with the past by spending Easter in Moscow. There, in the Kremlin

of the ancient capital, where the first Romanovs had lived and were buried, where the past felt particularly alive, his perception of the occasion was intensified. In the words of the last Emperor of Russia, the 'quiet joy' of unity 'with the children of our beloved Church as they flowed into the cathedrals', reached the point of 'spiritual rapture' with the celebratory service on Easter Eve. 'My present emotion is far more powerful than that which I experienced in 1896', Nicholas II wrote, sharing his feelings in one of his letters. 'Now I am so at peace and happy, and everything here inclines one to prayer and gives tranquility to the spirit'.³² It was no accident that that he subsequently repeated his visits to Moscow at Easter.

Nicholas and Alexandra spent Easter apart in 1916, when the memorial Book of Gospels was acquired. The Emperor was at military headquarters in Mogilev, from where he wrote sadly to his wife: 'Last year we were also apart on this day ... To be far away from each other in Passion Week and at Easter is a trial we have to face. Of course, I have not missed a single service ... May God bless you, my dearest treasure, and send you a happy and peaceful Easter'.³³

This was Nicholas II's last Easter as Emperor. The following Easter, in 1917, found him bearing the title of 'Citizen Romanov'. After his abdication on 2 March and his subsequent arrest on 8 March, there followed a five-month period of confinement at Tsarskoe Selo for the imperial family. The prisoners of the Alexander Palace marked the Easter of 1917 with melancholy thoughts and gloomy forebodings. The diary kept by Pierre Gilliard, tutor to the Tsarevich, contains a description of this occasion: 'At 9:30 a.m. Mass and Eucharist. At 11:30 in the evening, everyone gathered for the Easter Vigil. The Vigil was attended by the Palace Commandant, Colonel Korovichenko, a friend of Kerenskii, and three officers of the guard. The service went on until two o'clock, after which everyone went into the library for the usual Easter greetings. His Majesty, according to the Russian custom, exchanged the triple Easter kiss with all the men present, including the Palace Commandant and one of the officers of the guard who had remained with him. Neither of them could conceal the emotion they felt at this spontaneous gesture by His Majesty. Then we all sat down at the round table for the Easter breakfast. Their Majesties sat opposite each other. Including the two officers there were seventeen of us in all. After some comparative animation, which quickly subsided, conversation died away. Her Majesty was particularly quiet. Was this sadness or fatigue?'³⁴

Both sadness and fatigue, as well as interminable mental suffering, were to accompany the imperial family up to the moment of their tragic deaths. But even in their final minutes the Emperor and Empress, overcoming their grief, strove 'to seek solace in prayer and to trust in the love and mercy of God'.³⁵ When they left the Alexander Palace they took a considerable number of books with them into their exile in Tobolsk, including religious works.³⁶ Like most of the other valuable personal articles, the 1627 Book of Gospels, with Marfa Ivanovna's inscription, remained in their last home, and – having survived selling-off, occupation, and a journey into Germany – has now returned to Tsarskoe Selo.

Just as the Ipat'evskii House, where the imperial family were shot, closed a cycle in Russian history begun three hundred years earlier in the Ipat'evskii Monastery, so this unique Book of Gospels closes a circle in the history of the dynasty. From the first ruling family of the Romanovs it passed, after nearly three hundred years, to the last ruling family when the last monarch received it as a gift at the last Easter which his family spent in their home at Tsarskoe Selo.

Translated from Russian by Gregory Walker

Endnotes

¹ How did the books from Tsarskoe Selo come to be at Pavlovsk? In 1941 the libraries of the Tsarskoe Selo imperial palaces (about 39,000 volumes) were removed in their entirety to Germany by the Fascists; and when they returned in part (8746 volumes) to Russia, the Catherine Palace was in ruins, while the Alexander Palace had been handed over to the Academy of Sciences. The orphaned and homeless books from Tsarskoe Selo were distributed among various institutions, but a large number were housed at the so-called Central Depository of Museum Collections which had been set up at the Pavlovsk Palace-Museum, where the books were kept unsorted from 1946 to 2000.

² A. A. Sidorov, *Istoriia oformleniia russkoi knigi* (Moscow / Leningrad, 1946), p. 90.

³ Fedor Nikitich Romanov, a nephew of the Tsarina Anastasia, the beloved wife of Ivan the Terrible, was the first cousin of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich. After the Tsar died childless, Fedor Nikitich was one of the pretenders to the throne. However, another pretender was elected – Boris Godunov, a brother of the widowed Tsarina Irina, to whom her dying husband had bequeathed authority over the realm.

⁴ Quoted from A. A. Preobrazhenskii i dr., *Pervye Romanovy na Rossiiskom prestole* (Moscow, 2000).

⁵ Quoted from I. P. Khrushchov, *Kseniia Ivanovna Romanova* (Spb., 1882), p. 43.

⁶ Khrushchov (note 5), p. 49.

⁷ The original meaning of the Greek word *biblia* was literally 'books'.

⁸ St John's Gospel, chapter 1, verse 1.

⁹ *Tserkovno-istoricheskie pamiatniki i vklady Doma Romanovykh Moskovskogo perioda* (Spb., Izdanie imp. Stroganovskogo uchilishcha, [1913]), plate no. 46.

¹⁰ Perhaps the best known of the Kashin monasteries in the seventeenth century was the Uspenskii Convent, where St Anna of Kashin was buried. Anna was a Grand Princess, the daughter of Prince Dmitrii Borisovich of Rostov, born in the second half of the thirteenth century. She married Michael Iaroslavich, Prince of Tver' (later Grand Prince), who was executed by the Mongol Horde in 1318 and is numbered among the saints. After his death Anna became a nun at the Sofiia Convent in Tver'; later, at the pressing request of her youngest son Vasili, Prince of Kashin, she moved to the Uspenskii Convent which he had built in the city of Kashin, where she took the strictest monastic vows (*skhima*) under the name of Anna. She died in 1368 and was buried in the same convent. She won such deep respect from her contemporaries during her life, and left such revered memories with her descendants, that icons of her were made. It was said that many miracles and healings occurred at her burial-place. Active veneration of her began in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It is known that the boyar Streshnev, a relative of Michael Fedorovich, came to revere her; and in 1645 he petitioned the Tsar for her canonisation. In 1649 the Synod in Moscow added Anna of Kashin to the company of saints. In 1650, in the presence of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, her remains were transferred from the dilapidated wooden Uspenskii Church to the stone Voskresenskii Cathedral. It is possible that Marfa Ivanovna also visited Kashin to venerate St Anna of Kashin.

¹¹ P. M. Stroeve, *Spiski ierarkhov i nastoiatelei Monastyrei Rossiiskoi Tserkvi* (Spb., 1877), p. 482.

¹² B. M. Kirikov, *Kashin* (Leningrad, 1988), p. 7.

¹³ Kirikov (note 12), p. 7.

¹⁴ *Polnoe sobranie istoricheskikh svedenii o vsekh byvshikh v drevnosti i nyne sushchestvuiushchikh monastyriakh ...* (Moscow, 1852), p. 472.

¹⁵ For more on this see M. Tolstoi, 'Drevnie sviatyni Rostova Velikogo', *ChOIDR*, no. 2, 1847, pp. 8–9.

¹⁶ I. M. Pokrovskii, *Russkie eparkhii XVI—XIX vekov ...* (Kazan', 1898), p. xxxiv.

¹⁷ Dimitrii (Sambikin), archbishop, *Materialy dlia istorii Tverskoi eparkhii. Ch. 1. Uprazhneniye monastyri Tverskoi eparkhii* (Tver', 1898), p. 13.

¹⁸ Dimitrii (note 17), p. 13.

¹⁹ *Opisanie dokum. i del arkhiva Sv. Sinoda*, t. II, ch. 2, p. 119.

²⁰ Amvrosii (Ornatskii), bishop, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi ierarkhii. 6 ch. v 7 kn.* (Moscow, 1807–1815), ch. 6, p. 730; and I. Ia. Kunkin, *K istorii goroda Kashina* (n. pl., n.d.).

²¹ Quoted from A. V. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* (Moscow, 1992), t. 2, pp. 449, 453, 455.

²² V. V. Zverinskii, *Materialy dlia istoriko-topograficheskogo issledovaniia o pravoslavnykh monastyriakh v Rossiiskoi imperii* (Spb., 1890–92), t. 2, p. 68.

²³ This Prologue is held in the Russian State Library.

²⁴ I. V. Pozdeeva, 'Nikon', in: *Kniga: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 1999), p. 447.

²⁵ *Korpus zapisei na staropechatnykh knigakh* (Spb, 1992).

²⁶ *Mir staroobriadchestva: istoriia i sovremennost'*, vyp. 5 (Moscow, 1999), p. 377.

²⁷ RGIA, f. 525, op. 3, d. 544, ll. 129–134.

²⁸ A. Meilunas and S. Mironenko, *Nikolai i Aleksandra: liubov' i zhizn'* (Moscow, 1998), p. 305.

²⁹ Her reference is to the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Poltava.

³⁰ Meilunas and Mironenko (note 28), p. 317.

³¹ Meilunas and Mironenko (note 28), pp. 462–463.

- ³² Quoted from E. P. Shelaeva and A. A. Protsai, *Rus' Pravoslavnaia* (Moscow, 1993), p. 17.
- ³³ Meilunas and Mironenko (note 28), p. 462.
- ³⁴ P. Zhil'iar (Gilliard), *Imperator Nikolai II i ego sem'ia* (Vienna, 1921), p. 172.
- ³⁵ *Pis'ma sviatykh tsarstvennykh muchenikov iz zatocheniia* (Spb. 1998), p. 382.
- ³⁶ *Pis'ma...* (note 35), p. 401.

The Past as Prologue: Building Yale University Library's Slavic and East European Collection from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century until Today

Part One: 1896–1956

Tatjana Lorković

In earlier publications¹ I have written about Joel Sumner Smith, a pioneer of Slavic librarianship and the creator of the first Slavic collection in North America at Yale University, where he worked as a librarian from 1875 until his death in 1903. The purpose of this article is to describe the development of the Slavic and East European Collection at the Yale University Library from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the mid-1950s, when the retirement of Professor George Vernadsky, who had such a profound influence on its development, marked the end of an era. Part Two of this article, to be published in *Solanus*, vol. 23, will continue the story up to the present day and offer some projections and thoughts about the collection's future. In my research, I have attempted to answer several questions. First, how did the collection grow? Second, what were the motivations of the librarians interested in developing the collection? Finally, what was the connection between the historical events of the twentieth century and the importance of the Slavic studies collection at Yale?

While checking the Librarian Records in the Manuscripts and Archives Department at Yale's Sterling Memorial Library, I came upon the annual report for 1896, in which the Slavic Collection was first mentioned as a discrete unit. It was created and donated to the university by Joel Sumner Smith, an assistant librarian. In describing this remarkable collection, which was unique in North America at the time, University Librarian Addison Van Name provided an excellent overview of materials pertaining to the field of Slavic philology:

A collection of Russian books of 6,000 volumes was given to Yale University Library ... by Joel Sumner Smith The collection is even more valuable from the care with which the works composing

it have been chosen than from its extent. In Russian and other Slavonic bibliography it contains approximately 250 volumes; in the languages of the Russian Empire, Slavonic, Lettic, and Altaic, 675 volumes; in Russian literature, apart from periodicals, 500 volumes; in history and geography, 475 volumes (on Alaska alone, 100 volumes) and 191 maps issued by the war department. But the most important feature of the collection is the large number of periodical publications, both those issued by learned societies and departments of the government and those of a more general character. There are 153 such serials, embracing not far from 4,000 volumes. No effort has been spared to make the sets complete and in most cases they are entirely so. Of the publications of the learned societies of Russia there are 570 volumes (which do not duplicate the 800 volumes already in the University Library); of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 360 volumes, of the Ministry of Marine, 308 volumes; of the Ministry of War, 140 v. Other important series are: Karamzin's '*Vestnik Evropy*' (M., 1802-30, 174 v.), and the later journal of the same name (St P., 1866-95, v. 1-176); '*Russkii vestnik*' (M., 1808-20, 42 v.); Katkov's '*Russkii vestnik*' (M. & St P., 1856-95, v. 1-241); '*Syn otechestva*' (St P., 1812-48, 229 v.); '*Otechestvennye zapiski*' (St P., 1818-49, 113 v.); '*Severnaia pchela*' (St P., 1825-55, from 1831 daily); '*Moskvitianin*' (M., 1841-49, 52 v.); '*Russkii arkhiv*' (M., 1863-95, v. 1-76); '*Ruskaia starina*' (St P., 1870-1895, v. 1-84); '*Istoricheskii vestnik*' (St P., 1870-95, v. 1-26); '*Niva*' (St P., 1870-97, v. 1-26); '*Sbornik*' of the Imperial Russian Historical Society (St P., 1867-95, v. 1-95).

The books are in excellent condition and the greater part newly bound. Thirty of the periodicals in the collection were still published after the publication of the catalog in 1896.²

In a later annual report, dated 26 February 1926, Senior Cataloger Rebecca Dutton Townsend also mentions the Slavic collection at Sterling Memorial Library:

Through the generosity of the late Joel Sumner Smith, the library received in 1896 a very valuable collection of Russian books numbering 6,000 volumes. This was augmented by a few accessions each year until 1924. Since then an agent in Moscow has sent nearly all the important contemporary works published in Russia.

The collection now numbers approximately 9,000 volumes. It is particularly strong in Russian literature and works dealing with the economic and social conditions and the history of Russia.

There are over 4,000 volumes of periodical publications, both those issued by learned societies and departments of the government and those of a more general character. The number of volumes in the field of bibliography and geography is comparatively small, but there are some very rare and valuable books in both. A collection of 100 volumes on Alaska alone is noteworthy

The post-revolutionary material includes nearly everything relating to the revolution, government publications, a mass of published secret documents, best works in literature, books on the theater and art, and periodicals.³

I also learned from this report about another librarian who was responsible for the growth of the collection and was also a Russian-language instructor at Yale.

Mr M. S. Mandell has devoted much time to building up the Slavonic collections, the beginning of which we owe to the late Mr Joel Sumner Smith. Mr Mandell has also assisted the Librarian in the purchase of Yiddish books, and deserves the University's thanks for his unselfish devotion to both these fields.

Max Solomon Mandell was an instructor of Russian at Yale from 1907 to 1924 and received his master of library science degree from Columbia University in 1924. Ms. Townsend's report ends with the reminder that 'the J. S. Smith collection is described in the "Catalogue of Books" (Slavica in the Library of Yale University, compiled by Joel Sumner Smith), privately printed, [Leipzig] 1896.'

In the thirty years between the two reports, three thousand volumes had been added to the Slavic Collection – a rate of approximately one hundred volumes per year. Letters, memoranda, and lists of materials in the Yale archives provide a vivid picture of this growth. Due to space limitations, I will concentrate only on the most important documents.

Exchanges

The Librarian Records show that exchanges with the Russian Empire up to 1917 were dominated by the library's main partner, the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg. For instance, on 19 November 1906, an anonymous Yale librarian wrote to the academy: 'Gentlemen: I take the liberty of recalling that of Radloff "Versuch eines wörterbuchs der Turk-Dialect" we have received from you Lieferung 7-11 (Band 2, Lief. 1-5). If possible, we should greatly appreciate receiving Lieferung 1-6, 12-19, and subsequent numbers.' The librarian went on to request that the academy send the materials 'with the help of the Commission Russe des Échanges Internationaux, Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, St Petersbourg.' Apparently, the Imperial Academy did not respond, and a little over a year later, on 11 February 1908, the same request was resubmitted, this time with a salutatory flourish: 'Assuring you that we shall highly prize the completion of this monumental work, I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant, The Librarian.'⁴

The Yale archives contain an interesting exchange of letters between the American consul general in Moscow, John H. Snodgrass, and University Librarian John Christopher Schwab. On 11 February 1914, Snodgrass informed Schwab that the Society for the Development of Experimental Sciences and Their Practical Applications, established in Russia in 1909, desired to exchange publications with Yale. Schwab replied on 3 March that he would 'take pleasure in sending' the requested materials to the society, noting 'for their interest that this Library probably contains the best collection of Slavonic books in this country. It is one of long standing and is constantly added to.'⁵

Snodgrass acknowledged the librarian's letter on 17 March, and on 17 April Schwab proposed to initiate direct contact between the library and the society. Because the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and the Commission Russe des Échanges Internationaux, Bibliothèque Impériale Publique in St Petersburg handled the vast majority of library and scientific materials shipped between the two countries, Schwab suggested that they use this established route.

The exchange programme continued operating smoothly despite the ravages of the war in Russia. In a letter of 17 June 1915, Carl Salemann, director of the Imperial Academy (Bibliothèque 2^{me} Section, Livres en Langues Étrangères), stated that they continued to receive *Yale Studies in English*, but lacked certain issues. When Schwab discovered that two copies

of the journal had been sent to St Petersburg, one to the academy and the other to the university libraries, Salemann requested that it go only to the academy. In the event that the journal was discontinued, he hoped that other Yale publications could be sent in its place.⁶ Russia had been at war with Germany for almost a year, and on Salemann's letterhead somebody had crossed out St Petersburg and added a handwritten notation 'Petrograd', replacing the old Germanic form of the capital's name.

The exchanges took place not only with the Library of the Academy of Sciences but also with many other scientific organizations and institutions of higher education. For instance, a letter dated 14 October 1909 points to an exchange between the Yale University Library and the Observatoire Magnétique Central 'Nicolas', Saint Petersburg. Writing in French, the Russian scientists expressed their desire for an exchange of scientific papers. The Central Observatory also represented the interests of the Observatoire Magnétique et Météorologique in Irkutsk, Siberia, whose professional staff had requested the scientific publications of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences. Yale, happy to oblige the scientists in far-off Siberia, promptly dispatched to Irkutsk the *Transactions* of the Connecticut Academy containing materials on the natural sciences. In this case, too, the shipping services of the Smithsonian Institution were used.⁷

An interesting correspondence in the summer of 1916 indicates a broadening of the exchange programme:

Sir,

The Cabinet of Criminal Law of the University of St Petersburg has the honor to send you a copy of the Catalogue II part 1913 for information. It shall be very precious for the Cabinet to have your editions which relate to the criminal law and penitentiary questions since the year 1908.

I remain, Sir, yours truly,

P. Lublinsky,

Conservator of the Cabinet

Andrew C. Keogh, who had just become acting University Librarian in August 1916, added in pen on the verso of the original letter: 'August 16, *American Law* 1901 was sent to Russia.'⁸

Still, the library's main interest seems to have been scientific publications. On 16 March 1911, Schwab sent a letter to the Société Impériale des Naturalistes in Moscow. The subject of the correspondence was the society's

Bulletin, published since 1887, of which Yale had not one but two complete sets. (One set had been received through the *American Journal of Science*.) ‘Could we replace second set for your ‘*Nouveaux Memoires*’ of which we have only t.10, 13 and 14?’, asked the librarian.

Examples of such searches for scientific publications abound on both sides. In a letter dated 13 October 1912, the Yale librarian sent a list of exchange titles to the St Petersburg Botanical Garden (Botanicheskii sad) and requested that they be continued. On the same day similar letters were sent to Peterburgskoe mineralogicheskoe obshchestvo and several other institutions.⁹ On 2 June 1915, Schwab wrote to Alexander Petrunkevich, professor of zoology at Yale, whose family evidently still lived in St Petersburg. The librarian wondered if Petrunkevich’s father could kindly replace eight issues of the Russian journal *Riech*, which Yale lacked. On 13 April 1915, Schwab had asked Petrunkevich to help with materials pertaining to the war. ‘We have had a first batch of war publications from Russia. May you care to look them over? If you thought your family is in a position to induce anyone to send us ephemeral Russian publications of the war, we shall be very grateful, as our collection already includes a large mass of important material.’¹⁰

The exchange programme extended beyond St Petersburg, Moscow, and Irkutsk. On 6 April 1906, Schwab wrote to Mr Chesterikoff, secretary of the Novorossiisk Society of Natural Scientists in Odessa (Novorossiiskoe Obshchestvo Estestvoispitelei v Odesse): ‘I am sending you herewith the desired volumes of Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences. If you would send us in exchange any or all of the following the Academy would be greatly pleased We lack your Memoires 1–4, 7 and also Memoires of your Mathematical Section.’¹¹ Another request for cooperation came from the Russian Publishing House in Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia). A letter to the Yale librarian dated 24 April 1905, and signed ‘Bibliothekar’, itemizes ‘what to read in Russian literature’ (Chto chitat’ o russkoi literature).

Purchases

The archives provide plenty of evidence illustrating the library’s efforts to build its Slavic collection by purchasing a plethora of materials, soliciting gifts, and organizing acquisitions trips, both by librarians and by other members of the Yale community. For example, on 20 March 1906, Schwab wrote to Dr B. R. Ward,¹² a native of New Haven:

My dear Dr. Ward,

At your suggestion I enclose a list of Russian authors lacking in our collection. I also enclose a list of gaps in our Russian learned societies' publications. If in your trip to Russia you could spy out the land and find any means of filling those gaps by purchase or gift, I should be glad to have the result at your return.

Yours very truly,

J. C. Schwab

This list was prepared by M. S. Mandell, the above-mentioned instructor of Russian at Yale. It contained forty-three names of Russian authors, among them Tiutchev, Mamin-Sibiriak, Veresaev, and Shenshin. Mandell also provided three pages itemizing missing issues from the library's holdings of publications of Russian learned societies. Interestingly, Schwab mentions that some variations of spellings were done 'according to J. S. Smith transliteration'.¹³

I found several letters and invoices from the years 1908–13. One, dated 26 November 1913, is addressed to Schwab, presumably by a professor of literature at Yale:

Dear John,

Order from MacMillan all of Constance Garnett's translations of Dostoevsky, she has thus far published only two: 'The Brothers Karamazov' and the 'Idiot', which has just appeared. Make sure that the others are sent you as they appear. Be sure to get also her translations unless you have them already of Tolstoy's 'War and Peace', 'Anna Karenina' and the 'Death of Ivan Ilyitch.' Her translations are very superior to others ever made in English from the Russian.

As to translations of Gorki, they have been by a number of hands, and it is hard to say which are best. I would simply get every one of his works that have been translated into English. There is another book that you ought to buy immediately and that is Persky's 'Contemporary Russian Novelists' just published by John W. Luce and Company, Boston.

A pencilled annotation in an unknown hand reads: 'Have by C. G. "The Brothers Karamazoff", No Tolstoi.' There is also a list of Gor'kii's works

in translation, such as *Lower Depths*, *Foma Gordeev*, and *Outcast and Other Stories*.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that the Yale Library continued to buy books from N. Kymmel, a well-known dealer in Riga, Latvia. The Kymmel Bookstore had been one of the main suppliers of Slavic books for Joel Sumner Smith's collection. One invoice from Kymmel, dated 15 April 1908, lists two books by Pleshcheev: *Povesti i rasskazy*, for which Yale paid seven rubles, and *Stikhotvoreniia*, 1905, which cost four rubles. The total bill, in US currency, came to \$6.18.¹⁵ I assume that this was not the only transaction between Kymmel and the Yale University Library; very likely the invoices were not saved as part of the Librarian Records.

It seems that Yale's Slavic Collection was becoming famous. In early 1916 Leo Pasvolsky, the editor of *Russian Review*, published at 27 East Seventh Street in New York City, asked the acting University Librarian, Andrew Keogh, to lend him two volumes of Russian poetry. On 25 February, Keogh answered with a dose of pride:

I enclose herewith a statement about our Russian literary collection copied from the Yale Librarian's Report for 1896. Since that account was written we have added many works in Russian and on Russian topics so that the collection is now probably half as large again The books of our Russian collection up to 1896 were catalogued in a volume entitled 'Catalog of Books', privately printed in 1896, of which a copy will probably be found in the New York Public Library. The book was compiled by our Joel Sumner Smith and it was a list of books collected by him and afterwards given to the Library.¹⁶

Another interesting correspondence took place early in 1914. H. P. Kreiner, a surveyor and municipal engineer living at 790 Broad Street in Newark, N.J., inquired:

Dear Sir,

Will you advise me if you have a published list of works in Slavonic folklore, folk songs, epic and fairy tales (byliny and skazki) and if you do not a rough notation of the number of works in your files on these subjects. I mean by Slavonic a general term covering the several races such as Slovenian, Dalmatian, Croatian, Bosnian, Slovak, Serbian, Wendish, Great and Little Russian.

Somebody from the Yale Library staff scribbled on the original letter in pencil: 'c. 150 items in reply to Mr Kreiner's request.'¹⁷

On 14 March 1917, Kreiner wrote again to the library. 'Gentlemen, Can you advise me whether any of enclosed lists of Slavonic Books are in the Yale Library.' To which Schwab replied on 17 March: 'Dear Sir, I return the list of Slavonic books which you sent to me on the 14th. I have had a Y placed against the titles that are in this Library.'¹⁸

There is also a correspondence between the University Librarian and the Slavonic Publishing Company (456 Fourth Avenue, New York City), whose Slavonic Classics series highlighted the masterpieces of Slavic literature. The series consisted of twenty large octavo volumes of approximately 600 pages each, illustrated by masters of Slavic art. It was endorsed by such luminaries in the field of Slavic studies as Matija Murko, Ivan Lappo, Aleksandr Lappo-Danilevskii, and Paul Vinogradoff, several of whom served on the series advisory board. According to a promotional letter,

The Executive Committee has succeeded in interesting in the plan a small group of men of means who have disinterestedly placed at our disposal the necessary preliminary funds and their credit, and all of us hope that 'in the end we will come out even', satisfied as we are on the point of profit, with the consciousness to quote Cardinal Gibbons' words of 'liberating a wealth of thought, instruction and inspiration which has been locked up for so long a time from the English speaking people.'

On 8 May 1915, the Slavonic Publishing Company's managing editor, Isidor Singer, thanked Schwab for the library's subscription to a cloth set of the series. The subscription was to be paid in four instalments.¹⁹ In a subsequent letter, Kreiner asked the librarian to annotate the titles in the series that Yale already held, with the obvious intent of donating the rest.

George Vernadsky's Contribution to the Building of the Collections

In September 1927, Yale University hired George Vernadsky to teach Russian history and to oversee the development of the Russian collection in the library. Vernadsky graduated from Moscow University in 1910 and received the MA degree in history from St Petersburg University in 1917. The October Revolution and the ensuing civil war profoundly changed

his life. After leaving Russia and wandering through Istanbul and Athens, George and Nina Vernadsky found refuge in Prague, where, thanks to Czech president T. G. Masaryk's benevolent attitude toward Russian immigrants, it became possible for him to continue working on Russian history.

Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, Vernadsky's colleague from St Petersburg University, and the Sterling Professor of Classics and Archaeology at Yale, suggested to the Yale Corporation that they invite Vernadsky to Yale. George and Nina sailed to America in late August 1927. Vernadsky brought with him the manuscript of his first book, *A History of Russia*, and a rather poor knowledge of the English language, which he had to improve in order to teach at Yale.

Vernadsky taught Russian history until his retirement in 1956. He published an impressive number of books, journal articles, studies, and reviews, and became the preeminent Russian historian in the West. He also, as we will see, made invaluable contributions to the development of the Slavic Collection at the Yale University Library. Vernadsky died in 1973 and is buried in New Haven.

The first document relating to Vernadsky's interaction with the library staff is dated 2 November 1927. In a memo to Mr Humphreys, a staff member, University Librarian Andrew Keogh wrote:

When I got back in October Dean [Wilbur] Cross told me that Professor Vernadsky had been conferring with him on various occasions with regard to the Russian collections here and that Vernadsky had expressed great surprise at the richness of our collections and also at the absence of certain sets and monographs. Dean Cross had asked him to make a list of the things that he thought important in his work for this year and this was brought to me yesterday by the Dean. Of course, it will need careful checking Dean Cross understands that the whole list of books recommended can be had for \$1,000 with the exception of the Fundamental Sources of the list. Vernadsky has also offered his services to procure these books and Cross advises that we make as full use of him as possible. He is, unfortunately, unable to do any teaching this term and Cross is anxious to have him serve the University as fully as possible in other ways.²⁰

A year later, on 2 October 1928, Vernadsky presented a large list of desiderata to the library. I am quoting it in full because the list shows the

seriousness with which he understood his role as an advocate for the growth of the Russian collection.²¹

Mr Vernadsky's Request for Purchase of Books and Sets in the Russian Language

A. Fourteen large sets	estimated cost	\$2,900
The most important are:		
a. The great collection of Russian Laws, 1649–1916 (in 200 volumes, published 1830–1916)		\$1,000
b. Stenographic Records of the Duma, 1906–1916		\$ 800
B. Post war sets and books (all ordered)		\$ 150
C. Periodicals and newspapers (annual charge about)		\$ 100
D. List of about 200 titles, old and new	estimated cost	\$1,000
Total		\$4,150

The list created quite a stir among librarians. They noted that about \$600 worth of these books had already been ordered and that the funds ‘must be made of unrestricted money: Library funds or University grants in budget.’ The Vernadsky request was also discussed at the Library Committee. I quote from the minutes of the meeting of 3 October 1928:

The Librarian (Andrew Keogh) reported that Professor Vernadsky had made a careful examination of the Library’s books in Russian, and particularly of those in the field of Russian history; that he had found the collection extraordinarily rich, with the important lacks of which he has given the titles. The Librarian asked a vote of thanks to Professor Vernadsky for his work, and this vote has unanimously passed The Librarian then reported that Professor Vernadsky has requested the early purchase of Russian books that he had listed so that they might be available for him and his students

The Librarian said he had ordered the post war books and had placed subscriptions to the serials, at a cost of about \$500, but asked advice of the Committee, as to the purchases of the remainder. The Committee agreed that lists of this sort should be welcomed; that sets like the laws and the reports of the Duma should be at Yale; that the Librarian should purchase as many of the books requested as his discretion should allow; that an effort be made to obtain additional appropriations or gifts so that the

unrestricted book fund might not be greatly reduced by Russian purchases.

From then on, the influx of Slavic and East European publications to the Law Library increased significantly. The Yale Law Library Order Sheets for 1929–1931 and the Yale Law Library Accession Lists for 1 October 1928 to 1 July 1932 show acquisitions of law titles from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Albania, Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Danzig (an open city). There is even an entry from Harbin, China, where in 1925 V. A. Riazanovskii published in Russian the title *Modern Civil Law of China*, which the Law School acquired in 1930. It is likely that Vernadsky stimulated Hicks – his colleague and friend, a professor of legal bibliography, and also the law librarian at Yale – to become interested in Slavic and East European materials. The approval of Hutchins, dean of the Law School in 1928–1929, may also have been helpful. The major suppliers of these materials were Simon Bolan of New York City and Sweet & Maxwell, Ltd of 3 Chancery Lane, London, England.

Library books were always an important part of Vernadsky's life. One can imagine his joy at being able to use the rich collection of Sterling Memorial Library after so many years of wandering. He enjoyed surrounding himself with books so much that Anne Stokley Pratt, a Yale reference librarian from 1925 to 1948, was compelled to send him the following note on 23 November 1928:

Dear Professor Vernadsky,

You now have 275 books borrowed from the Library. This is so extraordinary a number that I cannot refrain from asking you whether there are not some of them you are finished with. Our Library is, of course, primarily a reference library and books should be returned as soon as they are no longer in constant use.

Yours very sincerely,

Miss Pratt²²

In 1929, Vernadsky's *History of Russia* was published by Yale University Press, with a preface by Rostovtzeff. The publisher's brochure stated:

He traces the development of the Russian people in terms of the effect of geography and climate on their life; of the social, cultural, and religious influences; of their unique relations with nations of the East and West, particularly the Mongol invasion

which overran Russia; of the expansion of the Russian Empire, the World War, and the Russian revolution. The account is brought up to January 1, 1929.²³

Two years later, on 17 February 1931, the University Librarian sent the following memorandum to Mr Troxell of the library staff:

Professor Vernadsky came in yesterday to give me the accompanying four sheets of recommended books. He had apparently been referred to me by you.

I told him that we had very little money and that we could probably purchase only the most important material at this time. He then said that the title on sheet A is the most important and that he thinks 25 volumes have now been published and that this could be had for about \$50. He wants the continuation, however, as they come out.

On sheet B, dealing with the history of the Russian church, he thinks that the first title is the most important. I do not know how good a guesser he is as to the price of the books; I fear he is underestimating the cost. If, however, we can buy them in paper, we can bind them here, charging that cost to our binding account.

On sheets C and D he recommends a Czechoslovakian and Polish historical review. He does not know the amount of the annual subscription, but thinks it very slight. He would like to have complete sets bound and available, but I told him all we could do at present was to subscribe for the current year.²⁴

Early in 1931, Mr H. H. Fischer of Stanford University informed Vernadsky about the availability of the Denikin documents, which could be obtained in France for \$3,000. The documents 'consist of the reports of the Sitting of the Denikin Government or the "special assembly". The documents are now in typewritten form with the exception of one which is printed. They are in six bound volumes containing a total of 2,956 pages typed on both sides. The pages contain the autograph signatures of General Denikin and in one or two cases of General Lukomsky and presumably of one or two other members of the government.'²⁵

Vernadsky did not want to miss out on these materials, a primary source for an important historical event. The White Army general Anton Ivanovich Denikin (1872–1947) had led the fight against the Bolshevik forces

in the south of Russia and the Crimea, where he established a provisional government. The defeat of his army forced him to emigrate to France, and after World War II he moved to the United States. He died in 1947 in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Vernadsky emphatically argued for the necessity of this acquisition. When Keogh informed the provost, Charles Seymour, who was also a historian, about the Denikin papers, Seymour said he would be very glad to have the set, but 'he could see no way of purchasing it at present unless a special gift was secured for the purpose.' Keogh told Vernadsky that Seymour 'did not know anyone who would be likely to make such a gift, nor do I I cannot at this time give you any great hope of acquiring the collection for Yale.'²⁶

Vernadsky was greatly disappointed to miss the opportunity to write about this important chapter in Russia's recent history. I find it interesting to note that the Denikin papers were published in their entirety for the first time in Russia by ROSSPEN in 2008.²⁷

Vernadsky continued to place requests for Russian materials, but the library staff was not always so cooperative. There is evidence in the Librarian Records that Charles Everett Rush, associate librarian from 1931 to 1938, and Carl Leslie Cannon, head of the Accession Division from 1932 to 1939, tried to ignore Vernadsky's requests. In one such exchange, dated December 8, 1933, Cannon complains to Rush: 'I ordered some Russian books for Mr Vernadsky this fall amounting to about \$30 or \$40. I have just received the attached checked list from him. I remember there was a question raised about the desirability of purchasing many books in the field of Russian language. This would amount to considerable expenditure if we bought all that were recommended. I should be glad to know what you suggest.' Rush answered: 'Most are likely not important, on which he probably could wait. Might ask him what one (or two) item(s) is (are) urgent.'²⁸

In April 1934, Vernadsky was asked to give advice on cutting certain periodical titles currently received by the library, 'with a view to reducing this list to meet the present financial crisis':²⁹

Krasnaia letopis'	\$3
Planovoe khoziaistvo (RM 38)	\$15
Narodnyi komissariat finansov, Vestnik finansov	\$9.48
Sovetskaia trgovlia (RM 12)	\$4.60
Za industrializatsiiu sovetskogo Vostoka, sbornik	\$3.00

The records in the current on-line catalogue, ORBIS, show that only *Krasnaia letopis'* was cancelled.

In 1934 Vernadsky donated eight Slavic newspapers to the library, including *Karpatorusskii Golos*, published in Uzhhorod, Czechoslovakia (this comprised more than one hundred issues, from 1932 to 1934). He also gave thirty-seven Russian newspapers and pamphlets published in the United States (1932–1933) and many monographs from his private collection. This donation brought him an invitation to join the Library Associates. In a letter of 13 October 1934, James Tinkham Babb, at that time an employee of the library and secretary of the Library Associates, wrote:

My dear Professor Vernadsky,

The trustees of the Yale Library Associates have noted with pleasure your recent gift to the Yale University Library. They hope that your interest in the Library is such that you may desire to become a member of this organization.

Membership is open to those who give money, books, manuscripts, or other materials, such as coins or maps, to the Yale Library. An expression from you of your willingness to accept such membership is all that is necessary.

For your information one of the leaflets is enclosed. This is not a request for money at this time. If you should care to continue your membership another year any contribution of books or money you may wish to make will be gratefully received.

Sincerely yours,

James T. Babb

Vernadsky answered with a handwritten note on 18 October:

My dear Mr Babb,

Thank you so much for your letter of October 13. Being greatly interested in the Library I am certainly pleased to accept membership.

Very sincerely yours,

George Vernadsky³⁰

The orders from Vernadsky continued without respite and the library tried to cooperate, but only up to a point. In a memorandum dated 18 February 1935, Keogh wrote to Cannon: 'Mr Birge was in this afternoon. I asked how much this *Ottoman Historical Review* cost and he said that he

had a set which cost him about \$32 bound. He said he would be willing to write to his secretary in Constantinople asking her to ask the bookseller to collect another set and to bind it and send here. I told him we would ask him to do this.' The decision was made to buy the title: 'From what he [Vernadsky] told me I think we ought to take this periodical even if we do not continue it. Please order.'³¹

Another request soon followed, and Andrew Keogh related to one staff member:

Professor Vernadsky was in this morning and recommended the purchase of the five serials on the accompanying cards. They all have to do with Ukraine and they are the most important periodicals on that part of Russia which is, he thinks, to be of increasing historical importance. He thinks periodicals have ceased publication, but he is not certain. There is, therefore, probably no question of adding to our subscription list, but only of buying the back sets.

I pointed out that the sets were long and would probably be costly, and that it might not be possible to buy them all or to buy any of them at this time. I asked him to arrange the cards in order of importance to him and I put down his numbers, 1-5, at the top right corner of each card. He said that if we could buy one it would be of great use, but if we could not find any, would we please keep the cards until the money was available. He thinks there is no library except the Library of Congress that has these periodicals or a good Ukraine collection and that the possession of them at Yale should add distinction.

The librarian recommended that the staff member check the periodicals in the Union List because, after all, the sets might be in other libraries. 'Perhaps he would like to know that they are in the New York Public Library, for example.'³²

On 25 November 1938, Bernhard Knollenberg, the newly appointed University Librarian, informed Vernadsky that 'Mr Alfred Hamill of Chicago'³³ offered to spend up to \$300.00 on books in the "Bolan List" which would be of outstanding value for the Library.' The list included:

Apollon. Published and edited by Serge Makovsky, Saint Petersburg, 1909-1917. 68 unbound issues. Besides its profusely illustrated

text it contains 1 sheet of music, 73 colored and 160 black single plates; 1 colored and 780 black plates printed on both sides. Each illustration is described in two languages, Russian and French. All wrappers are preserved. Size 4to. Regular price \$125.00.

Ezhegodnik Petrogradskikh (up to 1915 *imperatorskikh*) *teatrov*. Complete set for 1890–1915, all that was published. Illustrated, unbound 4to and 8vo. Yale has the years of 1918–1919, published by Soviets and which is nothing like previous set's issues. Regular price \$125.00

Zolotoe runo, or *La Toison d'or*. Moscow. Complete file for 1906–1909. Everything that was published, French and Russian texts, illustrated, unbound 4to. Regular price \$100.00³⁴

In a letter of 1 December 1938, Simeon J. Bolan of 17 East 45th Street in New York City wrote to Knollenberg: 'I received your letter of November 30 and in reply wish to inform you that if the periodicals wanted by you were still available, I would be only glad to let the Library have them for \$300 which amount would barely cover their actual cost to me.' On 2 December, Knollenberg wrote to Vernadsky: 'I enclose a letter from Mr Bolan and wonder if you are interested in his suggestion. I assume that he would sell us the three items for \$300. We do not have any of the items mentioned.' Vernadsky's answer, of course, was an enthusiastic 'yes'.³⁵

Vernadsky was occasionally asked for advice about special acquisitions and gifts to the library. For example, he evaluated a gift of a manuscript volume on Russian history that had apparently been written during the reign of Peter the Great and contained more than 300 pages of beautifully handwritten text. Knollenberg thanked Vernadsky for his interesting account of the life of Peter the Great.³⁶

In 1942, Vernadsky was again approached for his expert opinion concerning a manuscript, alleged to have been written by Ivan the Terrible himself, which had been donated to the library.³⁷ Five years later he was asked to evaluate a series of letters between Louis Fischer, an American writer, and Georgii Chicherin, the foreign commissar in Russia during the 1920s. He graciously accepted this task and appraised the letters with care.³⁸

While World War II was raging, the Soviet Union and the Russian language gained in popularity and respect in the United States. Concurrently, there was growing interest within the Yale community for the acquisition of materials from the USSR. The acting librarian, James Tinkham Babb,

asked for Vernadsky's opinion on how best to organize acquisitions from Russia. The historian replied on 19 September 1944:

Referring to our conversation this morning, I think that the first thing to do in regard to acquiring Russian publications in a systematic way would be to prepare a list of Soviet Academies and Universities and of their respective publications. As to the academies besides the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Moscow), there is the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kiev), the White Russian Academy of Sciences (Minsk), the Georgian Academy of Sciences (Tbilisi). The Academy of Sciences of the USSR has several local branches, including, if I am not mistaken, a Far East branch in Vladivostok. There is an Academy of Fine Arts, of Architecture, etc. and also several schools of music (conservatoires).

Besides, there are research bureaus and laboratories at the Commissariat of Heavy Industry, as well as some others. The publications of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and of Agriculture are also very important.³⁹

In reply, Babb committed the library to a system of thoroughly checking and listing any lacunae within its holdings of the publications of the Soviet academies and universities.

George Vernadsky's career at Yale was not very happy. In spite of his excellent academic achievements and extraordinary care for the library, he was kept in the position of research associate in history from the beginning of his employment in 1927 until 1946, when he was finally appointed professor of Russian history. Vernadsky retired in 1956. Columbia University gave him an honorary doctorate (LHD) in 1959. After his death in 1973, Vernadsky's archive was given to Columbia, where his papers now reside in the *Bakhmeteff Archive*. This, I believe, was a huge loss for Yale.

Vernadsky's personal library was sold to the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. It is interesting to note that my esteemed colleague Harold M. Leich, the Russian area specialist at the Library of Congress, European Division, in Washington, D.C., since 1987, catalogued this collection as a librarian at the University of Illinois Slavic Library in the 1970s.

The Vernadsky legend still lives on at Yale. Many Russians come to New Haven just to tour the addresses where the famous historian lived and to seek out his grave in the Beaver Dam Cemetery. However, Vernadsky's greatest posthumous claim to fame, in my opinion, is that his works have

been translated in Russia and are now used for the study of Russian history at various universities in his homeland.

Endnotes

¹ Tatjana Lorkovic, 'Joel Sumner Smith, 1830–1903: American pioneer of Slavic Librarianship', *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2008), pp. 152–173; 'Osnovopolozhnik slavianskikh bibliotechnykh kolleksii v SShA', *Bibliografia: nauchnyi zhurnal*, vol. 3 (344) (Mai–Iiun' 2006), pp. 150–155; 'Noteworthy Collectors: Some Founders of Slavic Collections in American Libraries', lecture delivered at American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 37th National Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2005.

² Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 148, folder 1783.

³ Librarian Records (note 2).

⁴ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 25, folder 1182.

⁵ Librarian Records (note 4).

⁶ Salemann to Schwab, 17 June 1915: 'I beg to inform you that of all libraries in our capital the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences owns the fullest collection of periodicals and series We therefore hope you will produce no alteration in the mutual exchange between both our libraries.' Schwab to Salemann, 7 July 1915: 'Dear Sir, Replying to your kind letter of June 17, 1915 (46) regarding the numbers of the "Yale Studies in English" I beg to assure you that we will continue to send them to you as they appear. Believe me dear Sir your very obedient servant, Librarian.' Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 33, folder 434, Russia 1905–1915.

⁷ On 20 May 1911, Schwab wrote to the *Observatoire Magnétique*, Irkutsk, Russia: 'Recurring to my letter of October 26, 1909 I beg to enquire whether you have received the parts of our Academy's *Transactions* which relate to natural sciences In exchange we would be much pleased to receive the scientific works of your Observatory, as well as your "Annales" of which we have only 1903, 1904, 1905.' Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 33, folder 434, Russia 1909–1915.

⁸ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 7, folder 1182.

⁹ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 33, folder 434, Russia 1905–1915.

¹⁰ Librarian Records (note 9). Alexander Petrunkevich was born in Russia in 1875 and died in New Haven on 9 March 1964, at age 88. A professor at Yale from 1910 to 1944, he was the 20th century's greatest authority on spiders. His father, Ivan Il'ich Petrunkevich, was one of the leaders of the liberal movement in Russia from its earliest stages; he has often been called the 'veteran of Russian liberalism'. The Alexander Petrunkevich archive at Sterling Memorial Library contains 210 letters that I. I. Petrunkevich wrote to his son between 1886 and his death in Prague in 1928.

¹¹ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 72, folder 989.

¹² Brownlee Robertson Ward, Yale College 1888, MD Columbia 1892, Yale PhD 1904. According to the *Vicennial Report of the Class of 1888* published in New Haven by The Tuttle, Moorhouse & Taylor Press, 1908, Dr Ward still sojourned in St Petersburg in 1908.

¹³ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 67, folder 970. Joel Sumner Smith published *Transliteration from the Russian*; New Haven: Tuttle, Moorhouse & Taylor Press, 1902. It was reprinted from the *New Englander and Yale Review* of May 1891. Smith transliteration was similar to the later Library of Congress romanization system for the Russian language.

¹⁴ Librarian Records (note 13).

¹⁵ Librarian Records (note 13).

¹⁶ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 72, folder 1094.

¹⁷ Librarian Records (note 16).

¹⁸ Librarian Records (note 16).

¹⁹ Librarian Records (note 16).

²⁰ Librarian Records 120, Series I, Box 102, folder 1072.

²¹ Librarian Records (note 20).

²² Librarian Records (note 20).

²³ Librarian Records (note 20).

²⁴ Librarian Records (note 20).

²⁵ Librarian Records (note 20).

²⁶ Librarian Records (note 20), letter of 23 April 1931.

²⁷ *Zhurnaly zasedanii Osobogo soveshchaniia pri Glavnokomanduiushchem Vooruzhennymi Silami na Iuge Rossii A. I. Denikine: sentiabr' 1918-go-dekabr' 1919 goda*. Ed. B. F. Dodonov et al., Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2008, 1002 pp. The Denikin documents were taken out of Russia following the evacuation of the White Army from the Crimea in 1920. N. M. Mel'nikov, as last President of the Government of the Russian South, was a keeper of the Denikin documents until 1921, when he deposited them in the Don Cossack Archive in Prague where they stayed until 1925. The documents were returned to Mel'nikov on the orders of Ataman A. P. Bogaevskii. After a long dispute that lasted over nine years and which required the intervention of the Czech government, the Denikin documents were returned to RZIA in Prague in 1935. Following World War II in 1946 the RZIA was taken to Russia as 'trophy materials'.

²⁸ Librarian Records (note 27).

²⁹ Librarian Records (note 27).

³⁰ Librarian Records (note 27).

³¹ Librarian Records (note 27).

³² Librarian Records (note 27).

³³ Alfred Ernest Hamill graduated from the Yale College with the BA degree in 1905. At the time of his offer he was a senior partner in Hathaway & Company Bankers of Chicago Illinois. He also served on the Graduate Committee of the Yale Library. *History of the Yale Class of 1905*. New Haven, Published under the Direction of the Class Secretaries Bureau, 1930- v.6, pp. 286-288

³⁴ Librarian Records 120, Series II, Box 109, folder 1512 (1938-1947).

³⁵ Librarian Records (note 34).

³⁶ Librarian Records (note 34). The Archives have only the letters between the Librarian and Vernadsky. There is no evidence of such a manuscript in Yale collections.

³⁷ Librarian Records (note 34). The Archives have only the letters between the Librarian and Vernadsky. There is no evidence of such a manuscript in Yale collections.

³⁸ Librarian Records (note 34).

³⁹ Librarian Records (note 34).

The M. S. Anderson Collection of Writings on Russia Printed Between 1525 and 1917: An Introduction

Karen Attar

‘Great and almost unceasingly cold, barbarous manners, ignorance and arbitrary violence – such had been the associations of the word “Russia” in the minds of most people in the age of Elizabeth and the seventeenth century. Such these associations remained to many Englishmen until far into the Victorian age. Between the reign of Ivan IV and that of Alexander I Russian government and society had changed radically, in some ways beyond recognition. With these changes British public opinion had failed to keep pace.’ These words are from *Britain’s Discovery of Russia 1553–1815* (1958),¹ the first book written by the late Matthew Smith Anderson (1922–2006), Professor of International History at the London School of Economics. The work is well known. Considerably less well known is its author’s substantial book collection – some 1,850 titles printed between 1525 and 1917.² The collection, presented by Professor Anderson’s trustees to the University of London in 2008, is now one of the named special collections at Senate House Library. Its description is the subject of this article.

M. S. Anderson was educated in his native Scotland. While at Edinburgh University he began, on the advice of Richard Pares (1902–1958), the son of Sir Bernard Pares, to learn Russian, the knowledge of which was to inform much of his research. In 1949 Anderson moved to London, where he was to spend his academic career at the London School of Economics, working his way up from Assistant Lecturer (1949–1953) to Professor of International History (1972–1985). He had begun to acquire antiquarian works pertaining to perceptions of Russia by 1949, as indicated by dated inscriptions in four titles in his collection published between 1772 and 1894, two purchased in Edinburgh and two in London.³ Systematic collecting commenced in 1964, six years after the publication of his first monograph, and initially covered the same topic, namely, British views of Russia between the voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor in 1553 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. As Anderson’s research interests expanded, with, for example, monographs on Peter the Great, the Eastern Question from 1774 until 1923, and historiography of eighteenth-century Europe,⁴ so did his geographical and

chronological collecting remit, to encompass, from 1976 or 1977 onwards, western European writings on Russia from the beginning of early modern interest until the revolution of 1917. Anderson made his final purchase in December 2003, immediately after being brought back from hospital, upon being left alone briefly within reach of a new catalogue from Quaritch.⁵

Travel narratives and other personal accounts of time spent in Russia form a major component of the collection. These are supplemented by histories, parliamentary reports, accounts of current events, and works of fiction for people of varying classes and ages. Other dominant subjects are those monarchs who did most to forge relationships with western Europe, Peter I and Catherine II; the Eastern question from beginning to end; and conflicts from the Swedish–Polish War of 1655–1660 to the First World War via the Northern War of 1700–1721 and other Russo–Swedish wars, the Napoleonic and Russo–Japanese wars, and, most prominently, the Crimean War. Nineteenth-century themes include serfdom and minority persecutions. In view of Russia's changing boundaries over the centuries, her political involvement with other countries, and the geographical position which made her part of a northern tour, there is much to interest the historian not solely of Russia, but of the Baltic states, Scandinavia, Turkey and Poland.

Predictably in view of the explosion of print culture following the mechanisation of book production, most titles (67%) are from the nineteenth century.⁶ The eighteenth and twentieth centuries follow, in that order (15% and 14% of titles respectively). There are 44 titles from the seventeenth century (2.4%) and fifteen from the sixteenth century (0.8%). The language of publication is predominantly English (71.6% of all titles), reflecting in part the readier availability of English texts than foreign ones for a British collector as well as England's position as the leader of the publication of travel writing in the eighteenth century⁷ and a major participant in the Crimean War of the nineteenth. French, German, Latin, Dutch, Italian and Swedish follow, in descending order, with Portuguese, Danish and Spanish at the bottom of the list. French, German and Dutch titles are best represented in the eighteenth century, when both Peter the Great and Catherine the Great were encouraging ties with western Europe, while the Latin books, unsurprisingly, are from the seventeenth and especially sixteenth centuries. Works range from folios to duodecimos, and from expensive editions with lavish colour illustrations and/or with generous leading between the lines, on high quality paper, to cheap and nasty nineteenth-century mass publications with tiny print, perhaps adorned with lurid woodcuts, on highly acidic

paper. Maps, chapbooks, pamphlets and periodical parts jostle for attention alongside the preponderant books.

A marked feature of the collection is the presence of multiple editions and of numerous translations, indicating the spread of interest in works about Russia and the communality of knowledge across Europe: for example, Peter Simon Pallas's *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs* in the original German (1771–76) and in French (1783–93) and English (1812) translations, with a volume of selections in Danish (1784); Elizabeth Craven's *Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, the work of the first female tourist in Russia to venture to the southern provinces, in three of the four British editions of 1789⁸ and in a French translation of that year published in Paris; Voltaire's *Histoire de l'empire de Russie*, described by William Coxe as 'the work from which most foreign nations have formed their idea of Russia',⁹ in four editions in different formats published between 1761 and 1769, two each in French and in English. Indeed, the very earliest book in the collection, Paolo Giovio's 35-page quarto *Libellus de legatione Basili Magni Principis Moschouiae ad Clementem VII* (1525),¹⁰ although rarely reprinted, is represented by an Italian octavo translation from 1545 in addition to the first edition. Sigismund von Herberstein's popular and renowned *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii* (1549), the major early source of western European knowledge of Russia, is present in two copies of the first Italian translation, of 1550,¹¹ and in a folio edition of 1551, to which Giovio's *Libellus* is appended.¹² The books present in most languages are Catherine the Great's Instructions, written in French for the commission intended to give Russia a new enlightened code of laws and held in five editions printed between 1768 and 1778, one each in German, Dutch, French and English, and one from 1770 printed in Russian, Latin, German and French in parallel columns; and Anatolii Demidov's *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie exécuté en 1837*, present in English, Dutch, Italian and Spanish translations as well as in the original French. Particularly striking for the differences between editions are Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, during the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808* (1809) and the earliest novel in the collection, Mme Cottin's popular children's book *Élisabeth, ou, Les exilés de Sibérie* (1806). The key feature of the former sumptuous work is its illustrations, around which the letters comprising the text are based: 'He [the author] had engaged to accompany the Drawings in the Work with some explanations, and a general sketch of the manners and customs of the people who form

their subjects.’¹³ A one-volume edition in the collection published in the same year by Hopkins and Earle in Philadelphia omits the pictures. *Élisabeth* is present not only in a French-language edition published in London in 1808 and four standard English editions,¹⁴ but also in a 24-page chapbook, printed for the booksellers of Glasgow in 1851.

On a smaller scale, copy-specific features may also demonstrate the circulation of books or evidence of their being read. An early reader has engaged with the content of both Herberstein’s *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii* and Giovio’s *Libellus* texts in the Anderson folio of 1551 by underlining some sentences. Anderson’s 1672 English translation of Pierre Chevalier’s *Discourse of the Cossacks* bears an ownership inscription from the year of publication and a seventeenth-century manuscript partial list of contents at the back. The Anderson copy of Henry Lansdell’s *Through Central Asia* (1887) has a Victorian library slip in the front recording loans over a four-year period, an indication of initial interest in the subject, even if it does not prove that borrowers read it.¹⁵ Although marks of provenance appear infrequently in the books – a result of the collector’s concern for good condition – they, too, indicate circulation, if not necessarily readership. The Anderson copy of the 1786 French translation of William Coxe’s *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (*Voyage en Pologne, Russie, Suède, Dannemarc, &c*) has the bookplate of the Swedish librarian and historian Elof Tegnér (1844–1900). The Anderson copy of *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores uarii vnum in corpus nunc primum congesti* (Frankfurt, 1600) travelled to Sweden in the first century of its existence and remained there for over two hundred years, as shown by the inscriptions of three distinguished Swedes, namely the bishop and antiquarian Georg Wallin (1686–1760), the linguist, translator and orientalist Carl Aurivillius (1717–1786), and the Uppsala professor Eric Michael Fant (1754–1817), and the bookplate of the Swedish count, writer and politician Carl Trolle Bonde (1843–1912). Some nineteenth- and twentieth-century books bear prize labels.¹⁶

The collection is rich in high spots in the field. Giles Fletcher’s *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591) is so significant for European reception of Russia, having been frequently recycled in later accounts and remained unsurpassed in many essentials until the eighteenth century, that Anderson included an 1856 edition in his list of abbreviations in his *Britain’s Discovery of Russia 1553–1815*: Anderson held both the 1591 edition and the second edition, of 1643. Of later highlights on which Anderson comments in *Britain’s Discovery*, Anderson came to own Adam Olearius’s *The Voyages and Travells*

of the *Ambassadors Sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein to the Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia* (2nd ed., 1669), which, Anderson noted, ‘considerably influenced the ideas of the country generally held by Englishmen during the pre-Petrine period’;¹⁷ Samuel Collins’s *The Present State of Russia in a Letter to a Friend at London* (1671), described by Anderson as ‘a work of real value’ by possibly the only seventeenth-century English writer on Russia to have a real grasp of the language and ‘the most scathing of all attacks on the atrophy of Russian intellectual and artistic life’;¹⁸ Pierre Chevalier’s *Discourse of the Cossacks* (1672; noted by Anderson as the earliest systematic account of the Ukraine or of the Cossacks available to the English reader);¹⁹ Jodocus Crull’s *The Antient and Present State of Muscovy* (1698), ‘the most detailed description of the country which had yet appeared in English’;²⁰ Johann Gottlieb Georgi’s *Russia: or a Compleat Historical Account of all the Nations which Compose that Empire* (1780–83), noted by Anderson as the first book which made some approach to a systematic account of the non-Russian peoples of the Volga basin, the Urals, and the Caucasus available in Britain;²¹ three editions of Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg’s pioneering *Histori-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, which provided ‘for the first time in English a systematic account of Russia’s vast possessions beyond the Urals, of their geography, their natural resources, and the languages and customs of the tribes who dwelt there’;²² William Coxe’s *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America* (1780), which provided ‘a competent summary of all that was then known of Russian exploration of the north Pacific’;²³ and Maria Guthrie’s *A Tour Performed in the Years 1795–6 through the Taurida, or Crimea* (1802), regarded by Anderson as the most important of the reasonably substantial and detailed accounts of Crimea that first became available to the English reader in the early nineteenth century.²⁴ Of the forty-seven writers from various European countries whose opinions of Russia were published in the relevant period and are presented in Anthony Cross’s *Russia under Western Eyes 1517–1825*,²⁵ Anderson owned one or more editions of forty-two.

But it is not only the best-known travel books which are valuable in documenting western perceptions of Russia. Quite ordinary travel books or other descriptions of Russia gain significance for the light that different elements of the collection shed on each other. W. A. Henty’s three adventure stories for boys with a Russian background are all in the collection, to which they are integral because Henty came to be credited with being

most English boys' main source of historical knowledge.²⁶ In the preface of *Condemned as a Nihilist*, about an English boy's escape from a Siberian prison, Henty writes: 'For the account of life in the convict establishments of Siberia, I am indebted to the very valuable books by my friend the Rev. Dr. Lansdell.'²⁷ Lansdell's *Through Central Asia* (1887) has already been mentioned in the context of reading; *Through Siberia* (3rd ed., 1882), also graces the M. S. Anderson Collection. A more obscure children's book in the collection is Alice Lang's *Ivan and Esther: A Tale of Jewish Life in Russia* (London: Religious Tract Society, [1892?]), which features a Jewish-Christian couple and deals with Jewish-Christian relations and with persecution of the Jews. Not only was anti-Semitism rife in Russia at the time of writing, but Jaakoff Prelooker, a Russian Jewish convert to Protestant Christianity who preached reconciliation between Jews and Christians, was a popular and prolific lecturer and writer in Britain. Prelooker's autobiography, *Under the Czar and Queen Victoria* (1895) is in the collection.

Ordinary books illustrate, too, the continuation of early negative views of a primitive people even into the twentieth century. Harry de Windt's *From Paris to New York by Land* (1904), which involves journeying across Siberia, includes the description:

Most of the men passed their evenings in gambling at cards, but the women appeared to have absolutely no occupation of a rational kind. The entire city [Yakutsk] only boasted of three pianos, but nearly every house possessed a gramophone, which generally provided the music after dinner, when the ladies would sit in a silent circle and listen to the ruthless assassination of Massenet and Mascagni.²⁸

Chapter headings perpetuate the idea of a cruel, inhospitable country – 'The land of desolation', 'through darkest Siberia', 'an arctic inferno', 'a cruel coast' – although admittedly an explorer's conscious desire to appear intrepid and deliberate literary exploitation of a stereotype may have influenced his choice of imagery. Later still, in a pamphlet in the M. S. Anderson Collection, John William Mackail was to summarise popular misconceptions of Russia as 'a vast, shapeless mass of barbarism tyrannised over by a small governing class which itself is half barbarous. It is of a people non-European [...] . Russia is fancied as a clog, if not a menace, to the general movement of progress.'²⁹

We see, too, how clearly opportunistic writers perceived gaps in a market to provide information about an unknown land which war with western

powers drove to prominence. A rare example in the collection is *Kurze Geschichte und Geographie des Russischen Reichs* (1812) by a high-school teacher in Augsburg, Georg Heinrich Kayser. According to the title-page description, its intention was to explain maps showing the scene of war. In 79 small pages it provided a background understanding of Russia in order to bring its readers up to date with current affairs: history, geography, politics, and a list of Russian towns, giving their location, size and salient features. Kayser noted general ignorance about Russia and wrote to correct it:

Der Kampf, welcher zwischen Russland und Frankreich begonnen hat, wird auf einem Boden geführt, mit welchem nur ein geringer Theil des lesenden Publikums genauere Bekanntschaft hat. Ich entschloss mich daher, um falsche Ansichten und verkehrte Meynungen zu berichtigen, eine kurze Beschreibung des Russischen Reiches zu liefern.³⁰

Moreover, the collocation of numerous travel narratives enables the user instantly to see the textual and illustrative loans prevalent in such literature. Jean Baptiste Joseph Breton's small six-volume *La Russie, ou, Mœurs, usages, et costumes des habitans de toutes les provinces de cet empire* (1813) represents the standard contemporary viewpoint of western European superiority: 'Les femmes russes [...] ont le visage rond, les traits grossiers et le teint extrêmement pale. Celles d'un certain rang remédient, il est vrai, à ce dernier défaut par des couleurs artificielles; mais elles les appliquent avec peu de goût et d'intelligence' (pp. 47–48); 'Les femmes des artisans et des marchands s'habillent avec plus de goût' (p. 49). Frederick Shoberl's similar series³¹ 'The world in miniature' includes four volumes published in 1822–23, *Russia: Being a Description of the Character, Manners, Customs, Dress, Diversions and Other Peculiarities of the Different Nations Inhabiting the Russian Empire*, of the same size as Breton (16 cm) and sporting 72 engravings. The first volume includes the descriptions: 'The Russian women are in general short, clumsy, round-faced, with small features and sallow complexions. The latter defect, indeed, they strive to remedy by a profusion of paint of various hues, which they daub on with as little taste as art' (vol. 1, p. 80) and: 'The wives of mechanics and tradesmen dress with more taste and costliness' (vol. 1, p. 82). Breton admits indebtedness to M. Damame-Démartrait and Robert Ker-Porter for his 111 plates and to Edward Daniel Clarke's *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* among other works for his text.³² Shoberl does not state sources.

Travel books provide the opportunity to illustrate Russian costume. The M. S. Anderson Collection contains only one costume book as such, William Alexander's early-nineteenth-century *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Russians* (n.d.), with plates copied from engravings executed at St Petersburg 1776–79. But numerous books show long-lasting interest in costume, from the sixty woodcuts of costumes in Nicolas de Nicolay's *The Nauigations, Peregrinations and Voyages Made into Turkie* (1585), advertised on its title page and copied from the 1576 Antwerp edition, to Shoberl's *Russia*. Especially exquisite hand-colouring is to be seen in Johann Gottlieb Georgi's *Description de toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie* (1776–1777), a translation of his *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs* (1776). The sub-title includes dress as a minor feature: 'où l'on expose leurs mœurs, religions, usages, habitations, habillemens et autres particularités remarquables', and descriptions of dress – factual, without evaluations – are a minor part of the text. The French translation was sold as three issues: without plates; with plates, not coloured; or with coloured plates. The Anderson copy has 75 coloured plates of costumes, several showing a front and back view of the same garment.³³ This contrasts markedly with the English translation of 1780–83, also in the collection, which has seventeen plates of maps, landscapes and abodes, but no costumes. That pictures of costume were a sales attraction emerges especially clearly in the collection through Charles G. Hunter's *Russia: Being a Complete Picture of that Empire, Including a Full Description of their Government, Laws, Religion, Commerce, Manners, Customs &c., with the History of Russia, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (1817). A brief section of this work deals with the various peoples of the Russian empire, within which dress is sometimes treated summarily, sometimes not at all. Yet an advertisement at the foot of the title page reads: 'To be completed in Ten double Numbers, each embellished with a finely coloured Engraving, illustrative of the Costume, &c'; seven of the ten plates are of costumes.

Major historical focuses are Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, the Napoleonic Wars and the Crimean War, the latter against the backdrop of the Eastern Question more broadly. Anderson owned approximately fifty titles either specifically about Peter the Great or with substantial content pertaining to him, beginning with the Polish envoy Foy de la Neuville's *An Account of Muscovy, as it was in the Year 1689*, both in its original French edition of 1698 and in its 1699 English translation. Most of the items are from the eighteenth century. Over one-half of the titles are in English,

with nearly one-third in French, and others in German, Dutch, Italian, Latin and Russian. Several are landmarks: John Mottley's *The History of the Life of Peter I, Emperor of Russia* (1739), in both the three-volume quarto and abbreviated one-volume folio editions, from which at least as much as from any other work Englishmen of the mid-eighteenth century derived their knowledge of Peter's reign; Voltaire, cited, who supplanted Mottley; M. de Fontenelle's *Northern Worthies* in English translation (1728); Friedrich Christian Weber's *Das veränderte Russland*, in German (1721), English (1722–23) and French (1725), described by Anderson as by far the most penetrating study of Russian conditions and problems published during Peter's reign;³⁴ Thomas Consett's *The Present State and Regulations of the Church of Russia* (1729, which Anderson called the most important description of the Russian church from the first half of the eighteenth century);³⁵ John Bell's *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia, to Diverse Parts of Asia* (1763);³⁶ Peter Henry Bruce's *Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, Esq., a Military Officer in the Services of Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain* (1782),³⁷ Alexander Gordon's two-volume *The history of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia* (1755), by one who knew Peter the Great personally.³⁸

The M. S. Anderson Collection contains nine titles by Catherine II, printed between 1772 and 1859, and some fifty titles about her. The obvious landmarks are well represented. Anderson owned Claude Carloman de Rulhière's *Anecdotes sur la revolution de Russie, en l'année 1762*, famous for Catherine's efforts to suppress its unflattering manuscript, in French, German, English and Danish editions (all 1797). He possessed Jean-Henri Castéra's *Histoire de Catherine II, impératrice de Russie*, the basis for views of Catherine the Great in western Europe for a century, in six editions in French and English, including English translations by two different translators, William Tooke and the Rev. W. W. Dakins. Titles cited by M. S. Anderson in his *Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715–1789* are present:³⁹ August Ludwig von Schlözer's *Neuverändertes Russland oder Leben Catherina der Zweyten* (1771), William Richardson's *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire, in a Series of Letters Written a Few Years Ago* (1784); Rulhière's *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne* (1808); Charles Masson's *Secret Memoirs of the Court of St Petersburg* (2nd ed., 1801). Less renowned histories complement the landmarks: for example, Georg von Tannenberg's *Leben Catharina II, Kaiserin und Selbstherrscherin aller Reussen etc. etc.* (1797) and the anonymous six-volume compilation *Vita, e fasti di Caterina II, imperatrice ed autocratrice*

di tutte le Russie ec. ec. (1797; the first European work on such extensive lines), both of which regard Catherine extremely positively.

Some 46 items published between 1806 and 1910, most of them in English or French, deal specifically about the Napoleonic Wars. Over 40% appeared before 1816, during the Wars. They range from Count Philippe-Paul de Ségur's famous *History of the Expedition to Russia Undertaken by the Emperor Napoleon, in the Year 1812*, present in three English editions in the collection, from 1825 (two editions) and 1836, to the obscure *Herinneringen uit den veldtocht van Rusland in den jare 1812*, by the artillery commander of the 124th infantry regiment, Willem Pieter d'Auzon de Boisminart (1824).

The Crimean War is a high point in the M. S. Anderson Collection for the sheer quantity of works pertaining to it: some 161 items, predominantly in the English language and published up to 1860. Authors vary from the renowned (for example, Sir Austen Henry Layard; Sir Henry Atwell Lake; Sir Howard Douglas) to the anonymous. They are of both sexes, of various occupations (military, medical and religious), and include some works by people of other nationalities than British. An early history of the War in the collection, George Dodd's *Pictorial History of the Russian War 1854–5–6* (1856), explains in its preface the vast output of literature: 'The Russian War of 1853–56 differed from all preceding wars in this among other characteristics – that it admitted, to a very remarkable degree, of historical narration during the events themselves':⁴⁰ namely, public official documents; parliamentary reports; items in the periodical press; personal published memoirs, letters published in newspapers – with information expedited by the postal service, electric telegraph, railway and steam-ship. 'All these favourable circumstances combined to render practicable the writing of a History of the War during the progress, and shortly after the termination, of the war itself: leaving to a later generation that more complete analysis of events, in their causes and their consequences, which can only be wrought when generals and statesmen – by means of Memoirs, Letters, and Dispatches – have given to the world their knowledge of occurrences fully to be explained by none but themselves'.⁴¹ What Dodd does not mention is the impact of mass book production and cheap print. His own work, published printed on poor-quality paper in double columns, is just one example.⁴² Pamphlets in the collection, some of them by major political figures on Russian issues like David Urquhart, Edward Cazalet and Charles Sarolea, further manifest this phenomenon.

Alongside the narrative historical overviews of personalities or events are personal memoirs, diaries, published letters, and occasionally sermons. Some were published during or immediately after events, like a rare Swedish sermon giving praise and thanks for peace with the czar of Moscow, gained with God's help and aid (*Lof- och tacksäijelse-skrift öfwer den genom Guds hielp och bistånd lyckeligen erhåldna freden, med czaren af Muscow*), issued by the royal printing house in Stockholm in 1721. Others, like *Memoirs of the Princess Daschkaw, Lady of Honour to Catherine II* (1840) and Sarah Anne Terrot's *Reminiscences of Scutari Hospitals in Winter 1854–55* (1898), appeared many years later.⁴³ At a further remove are literary works – poetry, novels, and drama – inspired by historical events. These begin with Claude Joseph Dorat's poem *Epitre a Catherine II, impératrice de toutes les Russies* (1765), which praises Catherine the Great for supporting the French encyclopaedist Denis Diderot by purchasing his library, and anonymous imaginary conversations between her, Peter the Great, Louis XVI of France and Frederick II of Prussia (*L'Ombre de Catherine II aux Champs Elysées* (1797)). Like the non-fiction, some of the fiction is a speedy reaction to current events, while other works were written many years later,⁴⁴ by a mixture of celebrated writers of their time and nobodies. The M. S. Anderson Collection contains two forms of one of the few English dramatic responses to Peter the Great, Andrew Cherry's *Peter the Great, or, The Wooden Walls* (about Peter as an incognito artisan learning shipbuilding in 'a sea port in the Russian dominions', possibly Archangel), both the entire text and a book containing the libretto of the songs and choruses (both 1807). A. Uzanne's eleven-page poem *La journee d'Austerlitz* (1806) is the earliest literary response in the collection to a battle of the Napoleonic Wars. This paean to Napoleon as the hero and saviour of France complements the less positive English attitude towards Napoleon more prevalent in the collection, such as J. Hamilton Roche's *Russia: A Heroic Poem* (1813), which ends exultingly: 'See, FRANCE is HUMBLed! EUROPE's joys are great!'

Prose fiction in the M. S. Anderson Collection is almost entirely English and from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, either about Russia, or with a Russian setting. It prefers pedestrian publications and the cheap and sensational to belles lettres.⁴⁵ One of the interests of such fiction is the presentation of popular views. The anonymous tale *The Gunmaker of Moscow, or, Vladimir the Black Monk* is no. 54 in a twopenny series, the Aldine 'O'er land and sea' Library. Set in the time of Peter the Great, it indicates a British view of Peter 250 or so years after his reign. The first

paragraph ends with the sentence: 'And now the day of Russian greatness dawned: but the sun was not fairly up – the broad light opened not upon the empire – until Peter came to the throne' (p. 1), and the 64-page work ends with the words:

'Aye', cried Ruric, 'let the future show how grateful we can all be for the blessings of this hour – and while we look to God for help we will not fail to remember in our prayers the author of our joys – our noble emperor, Peter of Russia!'

And so ended the scene as it should – with one long, loud shout of – 'God bless our Emperor!'

Yet the value for perceptions of Russia does not lie merely in the narrative. Two 1890s yellowbacks in the collection are by the American soldier and writer Richard Henry Savage, *Prince Schamyl's Wooing: A Story of the Caucasus – Russo-Turkish War* and *The Princess of Alaska: a Tale of Two Countries*. The latter contains advertisements for the former sensational novel. In addition to praising repeatedly the plot as 'exciting' and 'thrilling', the advertisements include the comments: 'Really good pictures of life in St. Petersburg and Constantinople' (*Library Review*, Nov. 1892); 'All who are interested in Russian affairs will find both instruction and interest in "Prince Schamyl's Wooing"' (*Manchester Courier*, 29 Oct. 1892); 'Wonderfully true observation and descriptions – a keen knowledge of human affairs – and *we* (the Germans) would do well to study closely what the author says of our *war-seeking* neighbour (Russia). How clearly he expresses *our* mistake in underestimating the secret causes which produce national bitterness.' (*Berlin Post*, 11 Oct. 1892): a sobering instance of how popular fiction coloured perceptions. Translations of Russian literature complete the literary perceptions of Russia, from John Bowring's classic *Specimens of the Russian Poets* (1821) to Isabel Florence Hapgood's *A Survey of Russian Literature, with Selections* (1902), an American textbook written for the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle and complete with 'Questions for Review' at the end of each chapter.

The M. S. Anderson Collection complements the rare books collection of pre-1851 editions at the nearby School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) of University College London.⁴⁶ Its richness emerges especially clearly through those items which are not held in the British Library, often translations into languages other than English. Of the rarer items, the Danish edition of Rulhière (*Anekdoter om Statsforandringen i*

Rusland i 1762) and A. Uzanne's *La journée d'Austerlitz* are currently the only recorded copies in Great Britain or America.⁴⁷ The Anderson Collection holds the only recorded copy on COPAC of the second edition of Jean Marlès's *Histoire de Russie depuis l'origine de la monarchie jusqu'à nos jours* (Tours, 1857). Other works in the M. S. Anderson Collection unrecorded in Great Britain include Kayser and the *Lof- och tacksäijelse-skrift* (both cited), the 35-page anonymous story *Love and Honour, or, the Adventures of Serinda, a Beautiful Slave* (Liverpool, [between 1802 and 1808]),⁴⁸ Stanisław Okszyć Orzechowski's *Ornata et Copiosa Oratio Habita in Funere Sigismundi Jagellonis Poloniae Regis* (Venice, 1548), and Jean Marie Chopin's *Historia de la Rusia* (Barcelona, 1839; a translation of *Russie*).⁴⁹ Differences occur within editions: the British Library's two copies of Johann Gottlieb Georgi's *Description de toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie* (see above) are of the issue without the plates.

In its sweep of perceptions of Russia from the second quarter of the sixteenth to the second decade of the twentieth century, the M. S. Anderson Collection almost embodies a bibliography. Its concentration of works remains a major strength. The perspectives gained from different types of works add richness, as does the transmission of texts across languages, countries, periods and, through the borrowing of ideas, authors. Seen from any angle, the collection is outstanding.⁵⁰

Endnotes

¹ M. S. Anderson, *Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553–1815* (London: Macmillan, 1958), p. 1.

² The collection is mentioned tantalisingly in the final paragraph of Anderson's obituary in *The Independent*: 'In middle age, he took up photography and collecting books concerned with Russia' (Daniel Waley, 'M. S. Anderson: Writer of History Textbooks', *Independent*, 23 March 2006, accessed electronically at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/m-s-anderson-470976.html>).

³ *An Authentic Narrative of the Russian Expedition against the Turks* (London, 1772); Thomas Thornton, *The Present State of Turkey*, 2nd ed. (London, 1809); Stepniak, *Russian Peasantry*, 3rd ed. (London, 1894); Donald Campbell, *A Journey over Land to India* (London, 1796).

⁴ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1966); *Peter the Great* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); *Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

⁵ Information supplied by Prof. Olive Anderson.

⁶ For a recent and comprehensive coverage of this explosion, see *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 6: 1930–1914, ed. by David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For the proportion of history, geography and travel writing in the nineteenth century, see Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800–1919*, Occasional Papers, 8 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994), pp. 44, 47 and 55.

⁷ Shef Rogers, 'Enlarging the Prospects of Happiness: Travel Reading and Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5: 1695–1830, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 781–90 (p. 785).

⁸ ESTC T198152, ESTC T63309 and ESTC T134670.

⁹ William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark*, 3 vols. (Dublin: S. Price et al., 1784), v. 2, p. 439, and later editions.

¹⁰ Described in T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: the Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

¹¹ Not in Adams. In one copy the Herberstein arms on the title page have been hand-coloured.

¹² Adams H-299. For Herberstein's significance and lists of editions, see Sigmund von Herberstein, *Description of Moscow and Muscovy 1557*, ed. by Bertold Picard (London: Dent, 1969), editor's preface (pp. 1–14).

¹³ Robert Ker Porter, *Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, during the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808* (London: Phillips, 1809), p. [iiii].

¹⁴ Published in London, 1810; London, 1817; York, 1817 and Chiswick, 1826. The York and Chiswick editions are not illustrated; the two London editions are.

¹⁵ The last reader on the slip, Mrs Fenwicke Clennel, probably did not read it, having borrowed it on 20 March and returned it on 21 March.

¹⁶ For example, William H.G. Kingston, *Fred Markham in Russia, or, The Boy Travellers in the Land of the Czar* (London, n.d.); Joseph Beavington Atkinson, *An Art Tour to Northern Capitals of Europe* (London, 1873); H. von Lankenaus, *Russia, Past and Present* (London, 1881); David Ker, *Cossack and Czar* (London, 1892); Frederick Whishaw, *A Lost Army: A Tale of the Russians in Central Asia* (London, 1896) and *Boris the Bear-Hunter* (London, [1903]).

¹⁷ Anderson (note 1), p. 35.

¹⁸ Anderson (note 1), p. 39.

¹⁹ Anderson (note 1), p. 44, n. 3.

²⁰ Anderson (note 1), p. 51.

²¹ Anderson (note 1), p. 84.

²² Anderson (note 1), p. 85. It is present in the first quarto edition of 1730, a quarto English translation from 1738 and a duodecimo French translation of 1757.

²³ Anderson (note 1), p. 86.

²⁴ Anderson (note 1), p. 84.

²⁵ Anthony Cross (ed.), *Russia under Western Eyes 1517–1825* (London: Elek, 1971).

²⁶ Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 245. Mackail refers to fiction more generally as a major source of popular notions about Russia (J. W. Mackail, *Russia's Gift to the World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915), p. 6).

²⁷ W. A. Henty, *Condemned as a Nihilist* (London: Blackie, [1893]), p. [5].

²⁸ Harry de Windt, *From Paris to New York by Land* (London: Newnes, 1904), p. 49.

²⁹ Mackail (note 25), pp. 6–7. Mackail goes on to write: 'Those who know something about Russia know that this popular view is entirely wrong' (p. 7).

³⁰ 'The struggle which has begun between Russia and France is being conducted on ground known to only a small proportion of the reading public. I therefore decided to deliver a short description of the Russian empire, to correct false views and twisted opinions.' (Georg Heinrich Kayser, *Kurze Geschichte und Geographie des Russischen Reichs* (Augsburg and Leipzig: s.n., 1812), p. [iii]). For a later, better-known example of similar opportunism,

see in the collection, [Rebecca McCoy], *The Englishwoman in Russia: Impressions of the Society and Manners of the Russians at Home* (London: Murray, 1855), which, as the writer explains at the end of her preface, owes its existence to interest in the Crimea excited by the Crimean War: 'The interest at present excited by a nation with whom the English are at war has induced her to listen to several friends who have recommended her to present these written observations to the public.' (p. vii).

³¹ Breton's work is part of a series of travel books, although not identified as such: *La Russie* follows his *La Chine en miniature* (6 vols. (Paris: Nepveu, 1811–12), and volumes were to follow on Egypt and Syria (1814), Spain and Portugal (1815), Illyria and Dalmatia (1815) and Japan (1818).

³² Ker-Porter (discussed) and Clarke (2nd ed., 1811) are in the M. S. Anderson collection.

³³ Complete copies contain 95 plates; the Anderson copy is of the first three of four volumes.

³⁴ Anderson (note 1), p. 73.

³⁵ Anderson (note 1), p.92.

³⁶ An account of 'permanent value': see Anderson (note 1), p.81.

³⁷ Used by Stählin (whose anecdotes are present in the collection) and later Wordsworth: see Anthony Cross, *Peter the Great through British Eyes: Perceptions and Representations of the Tsar since 1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 99.

³⁸ Anderson judged Gordon to be 'the best of his eighteenth-century biographers': Anderson (note 1), p. 78.

³⁹ M. S. Anderson, *Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715–1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 160–61.

⁴⁰ George Dodd, *Pictorial History of the Russian War 1854–5–6* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1856), p. [v].

⁴¹ Dodd (note 39), p. vi.

⁴² For similar works in the collection pertaining to other wars and/or produced by other publishers, see Henry Tyrrell, *The History of the War with Russia* (London: London Printing and Publishing, [1855–1858]); Edward Henry Nolan, *The Illustrated History of the War against Russia* (London: J.S. Virtue, [1855–57]); Edmund Ollier, *Cassell's Illustrated History of the Russo-Turkish War* (Cassell, Petter & Galpin, [1879?]); *Cassell's History of the Russo-Japanese War; Illustrated* (London: Cassell, 1905).

⁴³ These two titles reflect the variety within the collection. The Princess Dashkova was an atypically prominent woman (Director of the Russian Academy of Sciences) who explains the belated composition of her memoirs (written in French in 1806) as granting the request of the English traveller Martha Wilmot; in addition to the first, English edition of 1840, the M. S. Anderson Collection contains a French edition from 1859, re-translated from the English. Terrot was a nurse who accompanied Florence Nightingale to the Crimea, was ordered home after severe illness in spring 1855, and was awarded the Royal Red Cross for her services in the Crimea in 1887. Terrot explains neither why she did not publish her memoirs earlier nor why, not having done so, she decided to put pen to paper several decades after the event.

⁴⁴ Examples of immediate reactions to events in the collection are: John Hamilton Roche, *Russia: A Heroic Poem* (1813), the poem *The Battle of the Alma: From the Official Despatches*, written by an 'enemy to despotism' (1854); Herbert Strang's children's story *Kobo: A Story of the Russo-Japanese War* (1905); F.S. Brereton's adventure story for boys, *With our Russian Allies* (1916). Examples in the collection of fiction published many years after the events

portrayed are: Anne Bignan, *Napoléon en Russie* (2nd ed., 1843); G. A. Henty, *Jack Archer: a Tale of the Crimea* ([1888]); Frederick Whishaw, *The Lion Cub: a Story of Peter the Great* (1916).

⁴⁵ For enumeration of literary allusions to Russia from Chaucer onwards, see Anthony G. Cross, *The Russian Theme in English Literature from the Sixteenth Century to 1980: An Introductory Survey and a Bibliography* (Oxford: Meeuws, 1985), pp. 1–65; Patrick Waddington, *From The Russian Fugitive to The Ballad of Bulgarie: Episodes in English Literary Attitudes to Russia from Wordsworth to Swinburne* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), especially pp. 1–45.

⁴⁶ For example, SSEES has a 1557 edition of Sigismund von Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, while the M. S. Anderson Collection has editions from 1550 (Italian) and 1551 (Latin); Jan Janszoon Struys's *The Voiages and Travels of John Struys* is present in a 1683 edition in the M. S. Anderson Collection and a 1684 edition at SSEES. Concerning categories of items, the SSEES collection includes liturgical works and books on the Russian language. It does not contain fiction. I should like to thank Lenka Peacock, formerly of SSEES, for her generous assistance in sharing her knowledge of the SSEES collection of rare books.

⁴⁷ The Kongelige Bibliotek in Denmark holds two copies of the former, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France one of the latter.

⁴⁸ Not in Cross, *The Russian Theme in English Literature* (note 39).

⁴⁹ COPAC, the union catalogue of national and major research libraries in Great Britain, is not an infallible guide to rarity, as many libraries are not included (for example, the Oxford and Cambridge College libraries and other private libraries, and public rather than academic libraries). Moreover, not all libraries which contribute to COPAC have computerised all their holdings. Nonetheless, it is the best indication that exists at present.

⁵⁰ Users can browse the entire collection virtually by classmark (as all classmarks begin with the prefix [M. S. Anderson]) or by former owner on the Senate House Library catalogue, available at: <http://catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/search~S1/>. Searches are limitable by date, language or subject among other criteria.

В. В. Розанов и издательство «Пантеон»

Евгений Александрович Голлербах

Петербургское издательство «Пантеон» существовало с 1907 по 1912 годы.¹ Согласно заявлениям его организаторов, оно было создано по типу немецкой «Reclams Universal Bibliothek» – для выпуска литературных памятников всех времен и народов, в лучших переводах, лучшем оформлении и по доступной широкому читателю цене.

Уже с момента своего возникновения это был бизнес со значительным элементом конспирации. Официальными владельцами «Пантеона» в разные периоды его существования числились потомственный дворянин студент физико-математического факультета Императорского Петербургского университета с 1905 по 1908 годы Михаил Константинович Дориомедов (1885–1920?),² кременецкий мещанин студент юридического факультета того же университета с 1906-го по 1911-й Исаак Нахман (Нахманов) Анчелев (Аншелев, Аншелевич, Анцелевич, он же Александр Ансельмович) Ройхель (1885–1933),³ студент того же факультета с 1908-го по 1911-й Александр Мовшев (Мовшевич, Мойсеев, Моисеевич) Тумаркин (1885–1941),⁴ журналист Гриша (Григорий) Абрамович (он же с середины 1900-х старотолочинский мещанин Мовша Залманов (Залманович, русифицированная форма Михаил Семенович) Фарбман, 1880–1933),⁵ однако действительным руководителем в течение всего времени (и инициатором) предприятия был супруг сестры (зять) первого из перечисленных и брат супруги (шурин) последнего, царицынский мещанин график и издательский деятель Земгель (Зелиг, Зелик, Зелих) Овшиев (Овшиевич, Шиев, Шиевич, Шеевич, Ишевич, русифицированная форма Зиновий Исаев (Исаевич)) Гржебин (по родителям Гжебень,⁶ 1877–1929). Он продолжал осуществлять общее руководство предприятием даже в период своего годовичного (с ноября 1908-го) тюремного заключения.

Конспирация относительно подлинного руководителя предприятия была вызвана главным образом тем, что Гржебин, после вынужденного прекращения издания столичных сатирических журналов «Жупел» и «Адская почта», имел проблемы с законом, был лишен права заниматься издательским делом, ожидал ареста и не хотел вредить отношениям своего нового предприятия с административными органами.

Возможно, также имело значение уже начинавшее складываться к тому времени очень невыгодное реноме Гржебина, позднее усугубившееся: например, один из основателей русского символизма Д. С. Мережковский

определял его как «литературного паразита», один из лидеров «младших символистов» Б. Н. Бугаев (А. Белый) – как «известного издателя-спекулянта», А. А. Блок и Ал. Н. Чеботаревская – как «мошенника», К. А. Сомов – как «вора, мелкого мазурика», Л. Н. Андреев – как «мерзавца», Н. В. Корнейчуков (К. И. Чуковский) – как «прохвоста», П. П. Потемкин – как «безудержного спекулянта» и «деспотического эксплуататора», и даже симпатизировавший Гржебину А. Н. Бенуа – как афериста, прожектера, «слишком бестолкового», «не вполне доброкачественного», «просто ненадежного». Следует признать, что такие оценки были определены действительным стилем работы издателя и были в общем справедливы: по многим свидетельствам, на протяжении своей трудовой деятельности он не раз уклонялся от выполнения обещаний и обязанностей, недоплачивал либо вовсе не платил авторам за выполненную работу, не возвращал долги, подделывал векселя Л. Н. Андреева, «шлиссельбуржца» Н. А. Морозова, К. А. Сомова, просто крал (деньги и произведения искусства), был разнообразно нечистоплотен в делах. Супруга (с 1903 года) основного совладельца издательства «Шиповник» С. Ю. Копельмана В. Е. Копельман (Беклемишева) зафиксировала позднее в воспоминаниях, что «его⁷ репутация как человека (мягко выражаясь) с не особенно приличными финансовыми комбинациями была широко известна в литературных и художественных кругах Петербурга».⁸

При этом многие отмечали незаурядное обаяние Гржебина. Чуковский, вполне осведомленный о его едва ли не патологической склонности к «комбинациям», зафиксировал впоследствии: «Гржебин действительно располагал к себе. Он был неповоротлив, толстокож, казался благодушным, трогательно-идиллическим простецом <...>. Это был один из самых привлекательных людей, каких я встречал в своей жизни. Его слоновая неповоротливость, его толстокожесть <...>, самая его неспособность к интеллектуальным разговорам, – всё это нравилось в нем. Он был перед вами весь как на ладони – и это тоже располагало к нему».⁹

И едва ли не все отдавали должное оптимизму, «жизненности» Гржебина.

Важно было и то, что Гржебин мало понимал в литературе. А. М. Пешков (М. Горький) сообщил В. И. Ульянову (Ленину) летом 1921 года важную причину этого: «Гржебин вышел из семьи, где не только не знали книги, но говорить по-русски не умели. Всё его детство прошло в кошмарной нищете, невежестве, до 13 лет он не знал азбуки».¹⁰ Чуковский зафиксировал гораздо позднее: «Зиновий Исаевич Гржебин <...> никогда ничего не читал. В литературе разбирался инстинктивно».¹¹ Это обстоятельство не было секретом в литературной среде: Гржебин не раз консультировался с наиболее

авторитетными авторами «Пантеона» относительно качества попавших к нему теми или иными путями и порой откровенно плохих рукописей, а иногда даже настойчиво выказывал желание издавать подобного рода материалы; такое его поведение вызывало у некоторых экспертов раздражение.

Первоначально, в 1907-м, издательство располагалось там, где жили его организаторы: Василеостровская часть, Большой проспект, 53 / 15-я линия, 10, квартира 21 (у супругов Фарбманов) и Петербургская часть, Колпинская улица, 27, квартира 35 (у Дориомедова и, возможно, с ноября 1907-го также супругов Фарбманов). Затем – в арендованных помещениях по адресам: в 1908-м – Спасская часть, Невский проспект, 40 (там же располагался в то время книжный магазин «Нового времени» А. С. Суворина), в 1908–1910-м – Спасская часть, Итальянская улица, 15, сначала квартира 79 («на заднем дворе»), затем лучшего качества квартира 21, в 1910–1911-м – Казанская часть, Большая Конюшенная улица, 17, квартира 18 (там же располагалось с 1907-го по 1910-й издательство «Шиповник»), в 1911–1912-м – Московская часть, Николаевская улица, 31 (тоже место пребывания «Шиповника» с 1910-го до, по-видимому, 1920-го).

Всего за почти шесть лет своего существования «Пантеон» выпустил пятьдесят семь томов разных авторов, разного объема и разного формата. Главным образом это были переводы иноязычных литературных произведений (как некоторых общепризнанных шедевров, так и популярной беллетристики), но имелись также обширные планы выпуска разного рода монографий: в частности, издательство объявляло авторам и широкой публике, что предполагает выпускать книги отечественных и иностранных авторов о мастерах мировой литературы (о Ш. П. Бодлере, Р. де Гурмоне, Данте Алигьери, Ф. М. Достоевском, Х. Ю. (Г.) Ибсене, А. Р. А. Г. (Г.) де Мопассане, Ф. В. Ницше, К. Педерсене (Гамсуне), Ж. А. Ф. Тибо (А. Франсе), графе Л. Н. Толстом, А. П. Чехове) и «серию книжек, посвященных изобразительным искусствам: живописи, скульптуре, архитектуре»¹² (впоследствии этот список был дополнен книгами о «музыке и сцене»¹³). В итоге же масштабно задуманная серия монографий практически не состоялась, из всех проектов удалось реализовать лишь несколько (преимущественно переизданий): под маркой «Пантеона» вышли два тома «Страниц художественной критики» С. К. Маковского, две монографии Д. С. Мережковского (о Н. В. Гоголе и М. Ю. Лермонтове) и книга В. И. Засулич о Ф. М. Аруэ (Вольтере).

– Кроме книжных изданий, «Пантеон» выпустил довольно много технической продукции: каталоги своих изданий, буклеты-проспекты, информационно-рекламные листовки, конверты, бланки.

UCL SSEES

Руководители «Пантеона» предполагали также проводить у себя в редакции публичные лекции о мировой литературе и литературно-художественные вечера с участием передовых петербургских и московских деятелей литературы и искусства.

Основная часть как издательских, так и неиздательских планов «Пантеона» не была осуществлена, главным образом из-за плохо продуманной и противоречивой концепции предприятия, а также из-за почти постоянного дефицита денежных средств. Кроме того, изначально просветительская инициатива «Пантеона» приобрела в ходе ее реализации совершенно иной характер: в выборе авторов, произведений, в манере их перевода, подачи, интерпретации и оформления проявилась «модернизаторская» тенденция. Это было связано с тем, что к работе предприятия его руководители привлекли многих ведущих и второстепенных деятелей русского литературного модернизма: Л. Н. Андреева, И. Ф. Анненского, Ю. К. Балтрушайтиса, К. Д. Бальмонта, А. Н. Бенуа, А. А. Блока, В. Я. Брюсова, Б. Н. Бугаева (А. Белого), Н. М. Виленина (Н. Минского), С. М. Городецкого, Б. К. Зайцева, Вяч. И. Иванова, М. А. Кириенко-Волошина (М. Волошина), М. А. Кузмина, С. К. Маковского, Д. С. Мережковского, Ф. К. Тетерникова (Ф. Сологуба), Г. И. Чулкова и других.

Одним из наиболее ярких авторов издательства стал выпускник историко-филологического факультета Императорского Московского университета 1882 года, прозаик, публицист, литературный и художественный критик, философ Василий Васильевич Розанов (1856–1919). По-видимому, организаторы «Пантеона» привлекли его к работе по совету Чуковского, который в то время «безмерно восхищался» статьями будущего автора «Уединенного» и «Опавших листьев» и регулярно посещал воскресные собрания у него на квартире; творческая зависимость молодого литератора от старшего товарища была столь велика, что последний даже стал считаться «вторым по значению, после Жаботинского», наставником Чуковского.¹⁴

Розанов обладал многими качествами, важными для «Пантеона». Кроме того, что у него имелись бесспорные литературные таланты, знания, опыт и замечательная работоспособность, он был увлечен историей древнего мира, библеистикой и ценил книгу – не только как инструмент и «средство производства», но и как важную часть гуманитарной культуры. Современник оставил свидетельство о том, что в квартире Розанова «библиотека, множество книг, гипсовая маска Страхова, Мадонна, нумизматическая коллекция» находились не в рабочем кабинете писателя, а в гостиной, где принимались гости и «велись разговоры».¹⁵

Имело значение и то, что Розанов признавал себя как члена очень ограниченного тогда российского культурного сообщества и видел свой долг в поддержке культурных инициатив. Он зафиксировал в печати в 1910 году: «Несмотря на двухвековое сильнейшее влияние на нас западно-европейской образованности, – влияние это не просочилось вглубь народа, вглубь страны, задевая только верхний тоненький слой населения, “общество”. Оно шло через гувернеров, через заграничные странствования родовитых аристократов, через переводные романы, стихи и научно-популярные книжки, через командировки за границу будущих профессоров. Всё это ложилось тоненьким слоем “общения”, без массового влияния».¹⁶

Важным для «Пантеона» было, разумеется, и то, Розанов, как и некоторые другие видные российские модернисты, не раз демонстрировал в своих публичных выступлениях (в том числе и в публикациях) самую восторженную юдофилию, – которая, впрочем, парадоксальным образом сочеталась у него – опять-таки как и у целого ряда других деятелей отечественной «новой культуры» – с юдофобией (особенно впоследствии, с 1912 года).

Таким образом, многое в инстинктах и воззрениях Розанова должно было импонировать организаторам «Пантеона». Для него же самого важным аргументом в пользу участия в этом предприятии должно было стать, кроме перечисленного, еще и то, что в оформлении печатной продукции последнего приняли (либо просто согласились принять) участие многие художники-модернисты из ценившегося им «Мира искусства»: Б. С. (Б. И.) Анисфельд, А. Н. Бенуа, И. Я. Билибин, М. В. Добужинский, Д. Н. Кардовский, Е. Е. Лансере, Г. И. (Е. И.) Нарбут, Л. Х. И. (Л. С.) Розенберг (Л. Бакст), В. Э. Я. (В. Я.) Чемберс, С. В. Чехонин. Известно, что на внешность книг Розанов обращал внимание.

Но решило дело, вероятно, то, что Абрамович (Фарбман), обратившийся к Розанову с предложением о сотрудничестве с «Пантеоном», произвел на него самое благоприятное впечатление: с самого юного возраста ближайший сотрудник Гржебина пробовал свои силы в изобразительном искусстве, знал толк во «вкусовых вещах»,¹⁷ относился с большим пиететом к художественному творчеству. Впоследствии (упорядочивая напоследок свой личный архив) Розанов охарактеризовал его и Гржебина следующим образом: «“Пантеон” / Фарбман / в высшей степени чарующий жидок, застенчивый, робкий, художественный, одушевленный. Почти еще мальчик. У нас все его любили. Но / Quidquid id est, – timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.¹⁸ / Как он, за ним – Бенуа (А<лександр> Н<иколаевич>) и позади всех темный худой жид (Гржебин, зять¹⁹ Фарбмана) входили испуганно-просяще ко мне, чтобы я

попросил А<лександра> А<ркадьевича> Столыпина,²⁰ а тот брата-министра <П. А. Столыпина>, “оставить в С<анкт->п<етер>б<урге> для лечения” этого Гржебина, “совсем в чахотке и вот-вот умрет”: он судился и б<ыл> осужден за гнусную каррикатуру в каком-то “Пулемете” или где-то, в 1905–<190>6 гг<одах> против Государя.²¹ Я попросил. Устроилось. Я думал – он умер. Когда на именинах у Измайлова²² (года через 2) увидел здорового Гржебина, уплетающего закуски у стола с винами, – “Как Ваше здоровье”, спросил я по инерции. – “Ни-че-го”, ответил жидище, уплетая семгу. / Через год Столыпин был убит жидом Богровым²³ в Киеве. / Жид Руманов²⁴ (тоже очаровательный) сказал мне о Столыпине: – “Полноте, В<асилий> В<асильевич>, жалеть о нем. Ведь он б<ыл> дурак”. Таковы они все, и очаровательные, и не очаровательн<ые>».²⁵

Первым совместным проектом Розанова и «Пантеона» стал вышедший двумя изданиями (в 1909-м и 1910-м) объемистый сборник «Песнь Песней Соломона». Он содержал, помимо перевода титульного литературного памятника, выполненного (непосредственно с древнееврейского) и прокомментированного А. М. Эфросом, многочисленные текстовые и изобразительные материалы: статьи и заметки Ф. Беттхера, К. К. Й. фон Бунзена, Й. В. фон Гете, Ф. К. Г. Делича, И. Э. Итцига (Ю. Э. Хитцига), Г. Карпелеса, З. И. Кемпфа, Э. Х. Майера, А. А. Олесницкого, Г. П. Павского, Е. Прокоповича (Феофана), Э. Ж. Ренана, Дж. Т. Сендерленда, Й. Г. фон Хердера, Й. (Ю. Д.) Энгеля, стихотворения В. Я. Брюсова, графа Д. П. Бутурлина, Я. Гитина, Г. Р. Державина, А. Е. Зарина, Л. А. Мея, А. С. Пушкина, С. М. Соловьева, К. М. Фофанова, С. Г. Фруга, Г. И. Чулкова, А. А. Шеншина (Фета), Л. Б. Яффе (из второго, исправленного издания часть этих текстов была убрана, зато книга пополнилась стихами М. А. Лохвицкой), ноты Й. (Ю. Д.) Энгеля, факсимиле стихотворения А. С. Пушкина, библиографию. В оформлении сборника были использованы изобразительные материалы из издания старинных еврейских пергаментов барона Д. Г. Гинцбурга и В. В. Стасова «L'Ornement Hébreu». Розанов написал предисловие к этому фолианту.

А. Ф. Кони зафиксировал в конце 1910-х годов трудность русификации «Песни песней», определенную не вполне ясным характером этого литературного памятника: «Перевод или пересказ “Песни песней” стоит в зависимости от взгляда на это произведение, внедрившееся, по-видимому без достаточного основания, в священные книги Ветхого Завета. Если считать его одним из откровений, не обращая внимания на то, что монологи и диалоги, из коих состоит, без внутренней связи их между собою, “Песнь песней”, представляют картины плотской любви, нарисованные²⁶ чувственным

языком Востока с очень откровенными подробностями, причем В<асилий> В<асильевич> Розанов восхищается в них прославлением высшего, по его мнению, из внешних чувств – обоняния, то, конечно, этот перевод должен быть сделан с величайшим вниманием, без всяких урезок и прибавок. Это тем более необходимо, что, по мнению отцов Церкви и богословов, начиная с Оригена, “Песнь песней” под именем *жениха* имеет в виду Иисуса Христа, а *невестой* считает Церковь. / Но если усомниться в правильности таких взглядов и даже усмотреть в них некоторое кощунство, то надо признать за “Песнью песней” чисто светский, чуждый аллегорий и мистицизма, характер и согласиться с мнением Ренана, что пение отдельных ее частей или даже представление их составляло одну из принадлежностей семейных свадебных торжеств у древних евреев. В этом случае допустима, особенно в стихотворной форме, некоторая “вольность”, однако без отступления от смысла и характера основного текста.²⁷ Кони отметил, что в наиболее распространенной «русской Библии Синодального издания» содержится искаженный, «довольно произвольный перевод» древнего памятника.²⁸ Довольно далекими от оригинала признал он и попытки разных авторов сочинять на темы «Песни песней», даже наиболее удачные из них: «В нашей литературе есть подражания “Песни песней”, <...> приближающиеся к подлинному тексту <...>. Достаточно указать на несравненное по красоте переложение П<есни> П<есней Л. А.> Мея, под названием “еврейские песни”». ²⁹

Замысел издания новой русской версии этого произведения возник у руководителей «Пантеона» уже не позднее конца 1907 года³⁰ и был подготовлен несколько более ранней попыткой А. М. Добролюбова особым образом русифицировать «Песнь песней». ³¹ После этого В. Я. Брюсов принял участие в реализации задуманного; он написал Гржебину 25 января (7 февраля) 1908-го: «На днях обратится к Вам некто г<осподин> Эфрос, молодой человек, сделавший новый перевод “Песни Песней” – с еврейского подлинника, сохранив особенности напева. Мне этот опыт показался удачным. Не подойдет ли он для “Пантеона”?». ³²

Абрам Маркусович (Маркович) Эфрос (1888–1954), сын религиозных московских иудеев, выпускник-медалист гимназических классов московского Лазаревского института восточных языков 1907 года, ведший с 1911-го по 1918-й в популярной московской газете «Русские ведомости» художественно-критический отдел (и регулярно, вплоть до ликвидации издания, печатавший там свои статьи о художниках, выставках, книгах по искусству), а в 1918-м ненадолго ставший «постоянным сотрудником и уполномоченным

корреспондентом ежемесячника «Аполлон»³³ (вскоре ликвидированного), был тогда (с 1907-го по 1911-й) студентом юридического факультета Императорского Московского университета (кроме того, с конца 1900-х там же – в качестве вольнослушателя – «параллельно слушал лекции на историко-филологическом факультете»³⁴), с февраля 1908-го – также членом Студенческого общества искусств и изящной литературы при Московском университете,³⁵ владел, кроме русского, «французским, немецким, итальянским, <древне>еврейским, латинским» и английским языками³⁶ и усердно переводил на русский ветхозаветные тексты, – как минимум, до середины 1920-х, когда в издательстве М. В. и С. В. Сабашниковых вышла «Книга Руфь» в его переводе с древнееврейского и с его же введением.³⁷ Работа по переложению на русский священных текстов была начата Эфросом не позднее начала 1900-х годов; в своем личном дневнике он записал 18 ноября (1 декабря) 1903-го: «Потом я им³⁸ прочел <...> 2 переведенных стиха из Псалмов, один был: / “Кто сеял с слезами, тот с пенем пожнет...”, / другой: “И Небожитель засмеялся, Господь захохотал над ним...” / “Талантливый господин!” воскликнул восторженный Геня. Я посмотрел на Лялю. Он стоял нахмурившись, смотря на лампу; потом он сказал: “Бама³⁹ выставляет себя набожным, а теперь говорит: ‘Господь захохотал...’ Хороша вера!” (приблизительно). Геня ему возразил, что я делаю всё лишь для родителей, что я сам вовсе не набожный. На эти слова я ничего не ответил, потому что сам не знаю, есть ли у меня вера, или это только⁴⁰ привычка. Ляли⁴¹ же я возразил, что он не прав, потому что я лишь подлинно перевел еврейский стих».⁴²

Работа Эфроса над переложениями с древнееврейского на русский имела основаниями не только полученное им в детстве религиозное воспитание и его любовь к литературе: по его собственному признанию 1910 года, он с ранних своих лет ощущал себя будущим «спасителем Израиля».⁴³ Действительно, уже 17 (30) ноября и 18 ноября (1 декабря) 1903-го он записал в личном дневнике: «Вот она, пружина моего честолюбия! Надежда быть пастырем, вождем еврейского народа, вывести многострадальный народ из его теперешнего положения и, в особенности, обессмертить свое имя – вот моя заветная мечта. Я происхожу из рода Давида и потому твердо верю, что так и будет... <...> Я <...> теперь работаю для будущего, <...> *mon idée fixe*⁴⁴ обессмертить свое имя, <...> я твердо уверен, что мне это удастся, и <...> меня больше всего ужасает мысль, что мои правнуки не будут даже знать, существовал ли Абрам Эфрос на свете, и, чтобы обессмертить себя, я готов уподобиться Герострату».⁴⁵ Тогда же, 19 ноября (2 декабря), будущий переводчик «Песни Песней Соломона» зафиксировал свой интерес

к сионизму: «<В разговоре с товарищами> перешли к сионизму. Я им рассказал, что папа смотрит на него отрицательно, считая, что покупка земли <в Палестине> была бы чересчур простой формой возвращения в Сион, и что освобождение должно совершиться только чудесами. Я же смотрю на него с⁴⁶ увлечением, но вероятно это только следствие молодости».⁴⁷ В том же дневнике он изложил, 13 (26) декабря 1903-го, свои «заветные мечты» «о поездке за границу, чтобы там поселиться навсегда, там работать, за неимением возможности выдвинуться здесь, в России, ввиду стеснительных законов для евреев, и сделаться министром-президентом».⁴⁸ Позднее, весной 1910-го, Эфрос написал о себе в автобиографическом очерке: «Я знал с детства, что моя судьба будет необычной. Я чувствовал, что я нужен Богу для большого дела. Он следил за мной внимательно и неотступно. Его интересовали самые малые случаи моей жизни. Он всегда указывал мне Свою волю. Я знал, что неминуемо буду наказан даже за ничтожный проступок <...>. Я мечтал о недостижимом. Я просил невозможного <...>. Пока, по сю пору, не все <чудеса> еще исполнились, но чувствуется мне, видится, что медленно и неуклонно наступает исполнение и последних мечтаний, самых жгучих».⁴⁹

Согласно процитированному автобиографическому очерку, религиозные искания Эфроса и связанная с ними работа над новыми переводами библейских текстов не были поняты его родными и даже вызвали конфликт в семье: «<...> Я пошел новым религиозным путем, прислушивался к себе,⁵⁰ отходил от старого, мечтал⁵¹ о новом, но не пытался еще создать его, <...> в семью вошел разлад и скрытая, но⁵² жгучая пошла борьба.⁵³ Отец глубоко страдал от моего отступничества, но внешне был тверд.⁵⁴ Он по месяцам и даже два раза случилось что целый год не говорил со мной, словно не замечал меня,⁵⁵ пошел на крайний, самый ужасный для него шаг: исключил меня из религиозной жизни семьи;⁵⁶ меня не звали на молитву, мне не давали религиозных указаний в разных случаях жизни, даже благословения не дал мне отец перед страшным днем Всепрощения, когда решается участь каждого человека на целый год. Мне было жутко в тот день и за себя, потому что верю я в благословение, и еще более за отца. Сначала я считал это только испытанием, которому меня подвергает отец,⁵⁷ что он сам знает, что я на истинном пути, но до времени молчит, а когда увидел, что я ошибаюсь, то я поверил, что это ему выпало испытание, Бог скоро ему откроет глаза и он пойдет за мной⁵⁸».⁵⁹

Некоторое время спустя после начала работы над изданием подготовленных Эфросом текстов Гржебин сообщил И. А. Бунину: «Иван Алексеевич, в

“Пантеоне” скоро (в марте <1909-го>) выйдет такая чудесная книга (пока секрет), такая превосходная, “настоящая”, что Вы, когда увидите, придете⁶⁰ в восторг. Я распоряжусь что бы⁶¹ на особой бумаге (ватманской что-ли⁶²) напечатали экземпляр для Вас. Книга удивительная. Сам Соломон Мудрый мог бы только придумать такую книгу. – Когда получите, увидите, что не преувеличиваю». ⁶³

В 1907–1909 годах предполагалось, что книга будет называться «Екклесиаст» («Екклезиаст», «Экклезиаст»), «Песнь Песней Соломона» станет ее частью, переводчиком всех текстов будет А. М. Эфрос, а автором вступительной статьи – Л. Н. Андреев.⁶⁴ Однако затем вступительная статья была поручена Розанову. Абрамович (Фарбман) обратился к нему: «Глубокоуважаемый Василий Васильевич. / Обращаюсь к Вам от Имени Книгоиздательства “Пантеон”. Мы давно уже собираемся обратиться к Вам с просьбой взять на себя редактирование одной из книг издаваемой нами “Мировой Литературы” – *Песни-Песней*⁶⁵ и *Екклезиаста* – и дать вступительную статью к ним. Но перевод их еще не совсем готов. Сейчас мы обращаемся по аналогичному делу: мы хотим просить Вас дать вступительную статью к предполагаемой к изданию “Книге Иорам” Рудольфа Борхардта <...>. / Если Вы принципиально согласны взять на себя этот труд, не откажите известить нас. Тогда я заехал бы к Вам для переговоров. Тогда бы я также изложил Вам наш план издания Песни Песней и Екклесиаста. / С истинным Уважением / М<ихаил> Фарбман». ⁶⁶

Розанов принял оба предложения «Пантеона» и уже вскоре написал запрошенные тексты; Абрамович (Фарбман) сообщил ему 21 апреля (4 мая) 1909-го: «Многоуважаемый Василий Васильевич. / Опять не могу, к моему сожалению, поехать к Вам. Буду на днях. Сейчас посылаю следуемый Вам гонорар за предисловия к П<есни> П<есней Соломона> и Книге Иорам <Борхардта>. В обеих статьях 28 000 <знаков>. Значит, Вам причитается 70 руб<лей>. Очень извиняюсь, что мне не удалось ни вчера, ни сегодня побывать у Вас <...>. / С глубоким Уважением / М<ихаил> Фарбман». ⁶⁷

Розановская вступительная статья к «Песни Песней Соломона», по-видимому, была последней по времени написания составной частью тома, поскольку уже очень скоро после ее сдачи в издательство объемистая книга вышла в свет. Потомственный дворянин, педагог, математик, мистик и православный активист С. П. Каблуков⁶⁸ записал в личном дневнике 5 (18) мая 1909-го: «На днях выходит в <...> изд<ательст>ве <«Пантеон»> “Песнь песней” Соломона с вступительной статьей В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова – роскошное изд<ание> большого формата». ⁶⁹ Действительно,

тираж был изготовлен не позднее мая 1909 года,⁷⁰ тогда же экземпляр книги поступил в РНБ;⁷¹ не позднее середины (конца) мая 1909-го Каблуков ознакомился с новым пантеоновским изданием.⁷² Однако сам Розанов смог получить свои бесплатные авторские экземпляры гораздо позднее. Абрамович (Фарбман) написал ему 23 июня (6 июля) 1909-го: «Глубокоуважаемый Василий Васильевич. / Сейчас приехал из отпуска и очень хотел бы Вас повидать. Меня здесь не было больше месяца, и я был очень огорчен, узнав, что Вам не посланы “авторских” экземпляров⁷³ П<есни> П<есней Соломона>. Нужны ли Вам книги?». ⁷⁴ Последнее замечание, по-видимому, относилось уже не к авторским экземплярам «Песни Песней Соломона», а к другим книгам «Пантеона». Издательство было заинтересовано в благоприятном отношении к нему Розанова и в продолжении сотрудничества с ним – и потому передавало популярному автору (хотя и не вполне аккуратно) не только полагавшиеся ему бесплатные авторские экземпляры, но и остальные свои издания, – так же, как, например, влиятельному В. Я. Брюсову. В августе 1909-го Абрамович (Фарбман) написал Розанову: «Посылаю Вам еще пару книжек нашего издательства. Не судите строго выбор – при всем желании быть строгим и последовательным приходится время от времени издавать случайные книги». ⁷⁵

Одновременно с первым изданием «Песни Песен Соломона» «Пантеон» напечатал в типографии АО Типографского дела в С.-Петербурге («Герольд») листовку с объявлением, что «только что вышла из печати новая книга», и с изложением содержания этой книги. ⁷⁶

Сборник «Песнь Песней Соломона» стал первой публикацией Эфроса, – если не считать таковой опубликованное еще в мае 1906-го в столичном «Ежемесячном журнале для всех» В. С. Миролубова (Мирова) небольшое тираноборческое стихотворение «В тюрьме». ⁷⁷ Сам Эфрос считал выход в свет пантеоновской «Песни Песней Соломона» своим подлинным литературным дебютом; в позднейшей (1944 года) автобиографии он сообщил: «В текущем <1944> году исполняется 35 лет моей литературной деятельности, начатой в 1909 г<оду> выпуском в свет книги “Песнь песней”». ⁷⁸ В другом (1948 года) аналогичном тексте он отметил: «<...> Правоведческая специальность уже со второго курса <университета> перестала меня удовлетворять. Я решил ею не заниматься <...>. Итогом окончательного выбора профессии была первая печатная работа – перевод с древнееврейского “Песни Песней” и комментарий к ней». ⁷⁹

Пресса одобрительно отнеслась к выпущенному «Пантеоном» сборнику. «Наиболее идиллический среди критиков современности» ⁸⁰ импрессионист

Ю. И. Айхенвальд признал выполненный Эфросом перевод библейского текста «хорошим»,⁸¹ однако упрекнул начинающего литератора за то, что он «не удовольствовался ролью переводчика и приложил свой этюд о “Песне песней”, написанный в модернистской манере (или манерности) и поражающий неприятной развязностью тона».⁸² При этом Айхенвальд весьма высоко оценил «открывающую, в издании “Пантеона”, русский перевод “Песни песней” глубокую статью В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова», – за то, что «даровитый автор», проницательно и страстно распознав «органическую связь между знаменитой “Песнью” и еврейским монотеизмом», продемонстрировал эту связь современникам.⁸³ Сотрудник И. Д. Сытина, В. М. Саблина и И. А. Бунина журналист и переводчик Л. И. Гальберштадт высказался следующим образом: «Издание “Песни Песней” в таком непривычном для нас виде является серьезной и ценной заслугой. Обогащение нашей небогатой образцовыми и тщательными изданиями переводной литературы и само по себе надо считать весьма важным, а тем более, когда дело идет о таком крупном мировом памятнике, как “Песнь Песней”. Мы не можем судить, насколько точен перевод г<осподина> Эфроса, но из просмотра обширных примечаний видно, что перевод является плодом тщательной и добросовестной работы. Он читается легко, красив, местами звучен, что в данном случае имеет особенное значение, так как “Песнь Песней” написана особым оригинальным метром и даже может петься (к книге приложены ноты древнего напева, записанные Ю<лием> Энгелем). Как всегда, искренне и глубоко предисловие В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова. Но наиболее ценной частью книги являются, на наш взгляд, дополнения: критические статьи и стихотворные переложения. Мнения крупнейших богословов и историков, занимавшихся этой загадочной поэмой (по мнению одних) или драмой (по мнению Ренана и др<угих>), дают возможность сознательно отнестись к этой единственной в своем роде поэтической жемчужине библии. Многочисленные переложения и заимствования из “Песни Песней” дают и другую возможность: проследить вечно живое значение ее, неиссякающий и до наших дней родник поэзии, бьющий из ее неувядающей красоты и юности».⁸⁴

Авторитетный А. Ф. Кони, впрочем, сопоставив в конце 1910-х годов перевод Эфроса с другими известными русскими переводами, вполне определенно и высоко оценил также и его точность.⁸⁵

Особо был отмечен современниками облик книги. Ю. И. Айхенвальд, рецензируя «Песнь Песней Соломона», определил ее как «красивое и стильное издание».⁸⁶ Л. И. Гальберштадт отозвался: «Внешность книги отвечает ее внутренним достоинствам. Каждая страница обрамлена стильным

орнаментальным рисунком. Много заставок, концовок, воспроизведенных с древних образцов, собранных и изданных бар^{оном} Гинсбургом,⁸⁷ но совершенно новых для большой публики. При такой внешности и при большом объеме книги цену надо признать очень умеренной».⁸⁸ Заметили книгу и за рубежом: «Песнь Песней Соломона» демонстрировалась на международной Выставке печатного дела и графики «Бугра», устроенной Германским обществом печатного дела по случаю 150-летия Королевской академии графических искусств и печатного дела в Лейпциге и проходившей в столице Саксонии с мая по октябрь 1914 года,⁸⁹ – как образцовое российское иллюстрированное издание.⁹⁰

Сотрудники «Пантеона» и сами остались довольны результатом своей работы. В письме к А. Н. Бенуа, от 21 июня (4 июля) 1909 года, Гржебин назвал первое издание «Песни Песней Соломона» образцом для остальных книг «Мировой литературы»⁹¹ и сообщил: «Первое издание “П^есни Песн^еей Соломона»” разошлось в 3 недели! Теперь приступаем ко второму».⁹²

Во второе издание, однако, под давлением общественности и в частности влиятельного в петербургских еврейских кругах историка, публициста, общественного и политического деятеля, педагога Ш. М. (С. М.) Дубнова, было решено внести некоторые изменения. В недатированном, от августа 1909-го по содержанию, письме, на бланке «Пантеона», Абрамович (Фарбман) оповестил А. М. Эфроса: «Многоуважаемый Абрам Маркович. / <...> Что касается нового издания П^есни П^есней Соломона», то оно зависит от того, как скоро мы столкнемся о необходимых изменениях. Стереотипное издание, как мы предполагали сначала, оказалось, к сожалению, невыносимым. И хотя мы понесли и впредь будем нести убытки от того, что отпечатали такое небольшое количество экземпляров (в продажу вступило не более 1 000 экз^{ем}пляров), я очень рад, так как это даст нам возможность внести необходимые поправки (“Aus der Noth eine Tugend”⁹³). / Раньше всего в изменениях нуждается отдел Критики. Он составлен слишком случайно. По моему,⁹⁴ необходимо поручить редакцию этого отдела какомунибудь ученому⁹⁵ богослову или кому-нибудь из компетентных “Bibelkritiker”.⁹⁶ Подходящее лицо⁹⁷ нелегко будет найти, но всё же это не безнадежно. Мы теперь готовим том библейской поэзии, и на днях я смогу Вам сделать конкретное предложение о подходящем редакторе отдела Критики в “Песне”. / Затем коренной переработке должна быть подвергнута “Антология”. Я Вам в свое время высказывал свои сомнения относительно избранного Вами критерия при составлении антологии. Но тогда Вы оказались связанным обещаниями поместить те или иные стихи. Я думаю, что Вы не⁹⁸ брали

на себя обязательств относительно дальнейших изданий. / Раньше, чем говорить о предполагаемых изменениях в этом отделе, хотел бы знать Ваше мнение о возможности, в смысле взятых Вами на себя обязательств, сокращений. / Третье это Ваша статья о критике, возбудившая столько толков. Я Вам уже в Москве говорил, что статья мне очень нравится, но что тон ее не соответствует всему спокойному характеру книги. Я могу поэтому теперь высказать вполне откровенно свое желание, чтобы Вы подвергли ее переработке. От этого и она, и вся книга только выиграют. Даже Розанов, Которому⁹⁹ статья Ваша очень нравится, находит, что по форме она “неудобна”. / Четвертое это вопрос ввести ли статью о музыке или не вводить. Я боюсь, что это¹⁰⁰ явится ненужным <...>¹⁰¹ в книге. Я очень хотел бы знать Ваше мнение по этому поводу. Может быть, правильнее будет отказаться? / С нетерпением буду ждать Вашего мнения по поводу всех поднятых мною вопросах.¹⁰² Нам *очень* важно торопиться с новым изданием, и чем скорее мы покончим с принципиальными вопросами, тем приятнее будет. Я очень надеюсь, что эта сторона не вызовет у нас больших споров. / Договор перепишу и Вышлю¹⁰³ как только получу от Вас согласие на следующие¹⁰⁴ сроки. I <(14)> сент<ября> 100 <рублей>; I <(14)> октября 100 <рублей> и I-го <(14)> Ноября 100 руб<лей>. / Конечно, еще экземпляры <первого издания> Вы получите. Для Энгеля у меня экз<емпляров> нет. Я предполагал, что ему будут высланы экз<емпляры>¹⁰⁵ в одно время с Ва<ши>ми. Сейчас нет *ни одного* экземпляра. / Пришлите, пожалуйста, экз<емпляр> с поправками в тексте Перевода.¹⁰⁶ / Ваш М<ихаил> Фар<бман> / P<ost> S<criptum>. Некий Успенский¹⁰⁷ как то¹⁰⁸ прислал сюда письмо, с просьбой переслать Розанову и Вам. Оно было послано (в мое отсутствие) Розанову, но повидимому¹⁰⁹ пропало. Оно касалось текста перевода. Этот Успенский, вероятно, Вам напишет. / М<ихаил> Ф<арбман>».¹¹⁰

28 октября (10 ноября) 1909-го Абрамович (Фарбман) вновь написал Эфросу, также на бланке «Пантеона»: «Многоуважаемый Абрам Маркович. / Вы, вероятно,¹¹¹ поражаетесь моему молчанию. Я и сам негодую на себя, что так долго не мог привести в порядок всех дел и всех проектов.¹¹² Но за то сразу у нас приведена в ясность вся программа, а это искупает наши запаз<д>ыванья с одной книгой. / С ней же¹¹³ обстоит так: Рамки¹¹⁴ отпечатаны, и с понедельника мы начинаем печатать текст. Посему благоволите сейчас же прислать Ваши обе статьи (до текста “О методе” и после текста “Критика”) и исправленный текст Песни <Песней Соломона>. / Что же касается отдела Критики, то мнение Дубнова сводится к следующему: Если невозможно или не хотим переделать этого отдела с основания, то, по крайней мере, <надо>

внести следующие изменения: Безусловно выбросить мелкие заметки (Varia), сократить по возможности первые две статьи (южно-русский пер<евод> и Прокоповича) и внести Graetz'a, Reuss'a (я не знаю, точно ли этот так пишется. Это автор энциклопедического фр<анцузского> издания Библии "La bible") – Его предисловие к Песне Песней, и Kaut<z>sch'a, автора большого нем<ецкого> изд<ания> библии Die heilige Schrift¹¹⁵ (Дубнов не ручается, что такое именно назв<ание> новоиздания его библии< >); и хорошо бы свериться еще с Novak'ом,¹¹⁶ но это больше для примечаний, чем для отдела Критики. Я Вас очень прошу, Абрам Маркович, возможно скорее привести этот отдел в порядок, так как это ведь потребует нового набора и корректуры. / Reuss'a,¹¹⁷ Kaut<z>sch'a и Graetz'a Вы, вероятно, найдете в Москве, и так как Вам не придется "рыться" в них, а только <надо будет> взять их статьи о П<есне> П<есней Соломона>, то это при желании может¹¹⁸ быть, мне кажется, приведено в порядок в несколько дней. Также прошу не задержать конца книги. Что касается муз<ыкального> отдела, очень просим¹¹⁹ Г<осподина> Энгеля дать нам статью и, конечно, если возможно, раздобыть для нас Рукопись Римского Корсакова.¹²⁰ Это было бы ценным украшением книги. / <...> С деньгами у нас всё еще обстоит туго. Поступления всё еще очень незначительные, а платежи невероятно большие. Ближайшие сто руб<лей> вышлю Вам в начале ноября. Возможно, что я к тому времени буду в Москве и уплачу Вам там. А последние сто немедленно по выходе второго издания, вероятно, не позже конца ноября. Очень прошу Вас немедленно выслать весь материал, готовый к печати, и немедленно же приступить к¹²¹ переводу и редактированию остального. Энгеля торопите¹²² (нужны будут ведь клише, – это займет время!). Жму руку Ваш М<ихаил> Фарбман / Простите за торопливое письмо. М<ихаил> Ф<арбман>». ¹²³

Второе, «исправленное и дополненное» издание было подготовлено уже к началу 1910 года и, по-видимому, тогда же выпущено в свет,¹²⁴ однако лишь летом 1910-го поступило в ГУДП¹²⁵ и в РНБ.¹²⁶ Формально оба издания этой книги не относились к «основной» пантеоновской серии «Мировая литература», имели свое особое оформление, однако в информационно-рекламных публикациях «Пантеона» они включались в списки именно «Мировой литературы».¹²⁷

Это было настолько успешное издание, что, как сообщил впоследствии (в 1944 году) сам Эфрос, по выходе в свет «Песни Песней Соломона» он смог совершить целый ряд продолжительных зарубежных поездок, имевших для него немалое формирующее значение: «В 1910–1911 гг<одах я> был в

студен<ческих> экскурсиях по Германии, Австрии, Швейцарии, Италии, Турции, Греции – по 2 месяца».¹²⁸

Другой книгой «Пантеона», подготовленной при участии Розанова, стала стилизованная под ветхозаветные тексты «Книга Иорам» (1907) видного еврейско-германского прозаика, поэта и переводчика Рудольфа Борхардта (1877–1945). Она была выпущена в 1909 году, в переводе с немецкого А. С. Элиасберга и художественном оформлении Б. С. (Б. И.) Анисфельда. Первоначально, в декабре 1908-го, Элиасберг, автор «безупречного» русского перевода этого «замечательнейшего» сочинения (всё по оценкам самого Элиасберга), предложил рукопись «Скорпиону» С. А. Полякова – для публикации в журнале «Весы» либо выпуска отдельной книгой; однако московское предприятие не приняло предложенный материал.¹²⁹ После этого, летом 1909-го, рукопись предполагалась к изданию в организовывавшемся в тот момент столичном журнале «Аполлон»; посредником между переводчиком и редакцией был И. И. (О. И.) Перельман (О. Дымов).¹³⁰ Не позднее начала 1909 года Абрамович (Фарбман) обратился к Розанову: «Мы <...> хотим просить Вас дать вступительную статью к предполагаемой к изданию “Книге Иорам” Рудольфа Борхардта. Эта небольшая вещь, имевшая в Германии большой и, по нашему мнению, вполне заслуженный успех, осталась бы для русской публики непонятной без вступительного слова. Мы были бы очень рады, если бы Вам эта вещь понравилась и Вы согласились бы дать хотя бы небольшое предисловие к ней. Считаю не лишним прибавить, что мы предполагаем издать эту книгу по типу очень дорогих изданий с рисунками художника Б<ориса> Анисфельда, в очень¹³¹ небольшом количестве экземпляров. / Если Вы принципиально согласны взять на себя этот труд, не откажите известить нас. Тогда я заехал бы к Вам для переговоров <...>. / С истинным Уважением / М<ихаил> Фарбман».¹³² Розанов без промедления написал запрошенную статью и получил гонорар за нее уже 21 апреля (4 мая) 1909-го.¹³³

На титульном листе книги в качестве даты выпуска указан 1910 год, однако в выходных данных сообщено, что тираж отпечатан в сентябре 1909-го.¹³⁴ Действительно, издание было выпущено «Пантеоном» не позднее сентября (октября) 1909-го,¹³⁵ тогда же его обязательные экземпляры поступили в РНБ,¹³⁶ а его авторские экземпляры Абрамович (Фарбман) переслал Розанову уже 7 (20) октября.¹³⁷

Книга не имела коммерческого успеха: не разошедшаяся часть ее тиража оставалась на складе продукции «Пантеона» (находившегося тогда при столичном книгоиздательстве «Прометей» Н. Н. Михайлова) даже в 1912 году, в самый последний период существования предприятия.¹³⁸

Намечался «Пантеоном» и еще целый ряд совместных с В. В. Розановым проектов, — отрывочные сведения о которых сохранились в переписке издательства и автора, а также в дневнике С. П. Каблукова. К сожалению, ни один из этих планов не был осуществлен.

В частности, в пантеоновской серии монографий могла выйти книга Розанова о Н. А. Некрасове. На первый взгляд неожиданная для «Пантеона» тема была в действительности вполне естественна: не только потому, что «печальник горя народного» сыграл заметную роль в отечественной литературе и мог, на одном только этом основании, считаться достойным включения в «литературный пантеон», — но и потому, что его творчество интересовало целый ряд модернистов.

Большим поклонником творчества Некрасова уже с самого юного возраста был, например, Ф. К. Тетерников (Сологуб), имевший особый вес в «Пантеоне» (он и члены его семьи подготовили более половины выпущенных «Пантеоном» книг). О. Н. Черносвитова (Чеботаревская) зафиксировала в конце 1920-х: «<...> Федя <в детстве и юности> стоял твердо на своем, все его симпатии были на стороне угнетенного народа и его защитников. Таким настроением объясняется чрезмерное увлечение будущего символиста стихами Некрасова, которого он знал почти всего наизусть и считал гораздо выше Лермонтова и Пушкина».¹³⁹ Интересовал «рыдающий поэт» и других видных авторов издательства. Например, Анненский обнаружил параллели в творческих достижениях Некрасова и Гоголя.¹⁴⁰ Брюсов выступил в 1912 году со статьей «Н. А. Некрасов как поэт города», в которой заявил, что Некрасов — один из первых русских «поэтов города», открывший для новейшей литературы поэтичность и значимость урбанистического.¹⁴¹ Е. В. Аничков отметил тогда же: «Никто, когда чествовали память Некрасова в 1902 году, так живо и пламенно не отозвался на это чествование, как Бальмонт. Это понятно. Именно Бальмонт поднял оставленный Некрасовым стяг. Передумайте сначала Пушкина и Лермонтова, после Некрасова и, наконец, Бальмонта, и вы поймете, что было в России за последнее столетие».¹⁴² Современники и позднейшие исследователи замечали «некрасовские темы» также в творчестве Анненского, Блока, Брюсова, Виленкина (Минского). Вяч. И. Иванов увидел «брата» Некрасова в Б. Н. Бугаеве (А. Белом),¹⁴³ Н. С. Гумилев также поставил московского коллегу в один ряд с Некрасовым и первым нобелевским лауреатом по литературе Р. Ф. А. Прюдомом (Сюлли-Прюдомом),¹⁴⁴ а поэтический цикл Бугаева (Белого) «Пепел» многие оценили как его «самую “некрасовскую” книгу».¹⁴⁵

Внимание модернистов было вызвано отчасти тем, что «после Некрасова в России долго не писали поэм; этот жанр, в течение всего романтизма безоговорочно господствовавший в русской литературе, иссяк и полстолетия не возобновлялся»; модернисты же задались целью возродить жанр, одним из последних мастеров которого в России был создатель «Кому на Руси жить хорошо».¹⁴⁶ Брюсов признался С. А. Венгеру 21 декабря 1903-го (3 января 1904-го): «Поэмы <...> – большей частью “рассказы в стихах”, а мы, современные поэты, как то совершенно утратили власть над этой формой стихотворчества <...>».¹⁴⁷ Необходимости возрождения жанра поэмы был посвящен целый ряд публикаций в периодике 1900-х годов (например, в «Аполлоне» в 1909-м высказались на эту тему И. Ф. Анненский и Н. С. Гумилев¹⁴⁸). Позднейший исследователь подтвердил: «Со смерти Некрасова, который так и не завершил “Кому на Руси жить хорошо”, и до 1910 года, когда Блок приступил к “Возмездию”, не было создано ни одной поэмы, в которой нашли бы отражение какие-то важные стороны народной жизни», – хотя попытки такого рода и предпринимались Н. М. Виленкиным (Минским), графом А. А. Голенищевым-Кутузовым, Д. С. Мережковским, В. К. Н. Розенблюмом (К. Льдовым), великим князем К. К. Романовым (К. Р.), К. К. Случевским, В. С. Соловьевым, К. М. Фофановым и другими авторами конца XIX и рубежа XIX и XX веков.¹⁴⁹

Таким образом, некрасовский проект «Пантеона» имел вполне актуальный для российского литературного модернизма характер. Абрамович (Фарбман) написал Розанову 23 июня (6 июля) 1909 года: «Глубокоуважаемый Василий Васильевич. / Сейчас приехал из отпуска и очень хотел бы Вас повидать <...>. / Мне необходимо было бы Вас повидать. Очень прошу Вас назначить мне время (здесь или на даче), когда Вы могли бы меня принять для переговоров об издании “Некрасова”. / Мне можете дать знать либо письмецом: Пантеон, Итальянская <улица>, 15, либо по телефону 289–13. / С глубоким Уважением к Вам М<ихаил> Фарбман».¹⁵⁰ Некоторое время спустя он вернулся к этой теме: «Глубокоуважаемый Василий Васильевич. / <...> Прошу Вас назначить мне время и место (в городе), когда я мог бы с Вами переговорить об издании “Некрасова” <...>. Я надеюсь, Вы охотно окажете мне эту услугу».¹⁵¹

По-видимому, уже на ранней стадии сотрудничества с Розановым у издательства существовало и намерение выпустить сборник (либо даже серию сборников) «Новые веяния в литературе». Абрамович (Фарбман) написал В. В. Розанову 21 апреля (4 мая) 1909 года: «Многоуважаемый Василий Васильевич <...>. Посылаю <Вам> <...> список Ваших статей. Был бы очень рад, если бы Вы <с>могли переслать нам для ознакомления <перечисленные здесь>

статьи для книги: *Новые веяния в литературе*. / С глубоким Уважением / М<ихаил> Фарбман». ¹⁵²

Не анонсировался, но был намечен к изданию также сборник «Библейская поэзия» (или, иначе, «Ветхозаветная поэзия»), со статьей Розанова и, возможно, под его же редакцией. Абрамович (Фарбман) обратился к исследователю «неясного и нерешенного» 12 (25) августа 1909-го: «Глубокоуважаемый Василий Васильевич. / <...> Прошу Вас назначить мне время и место (в городе), когда я мог бы с Вами переговорить об издании “Некрасова” и о предполагаемой “Библейской Поэзией”». ¹⁵³ Мы думаем в одном томе издать “Иова”, страницы из пророков, Руфь. Вот о том, что и как издать, мне очень важно переговорить с Вами. Я надеюсь, Вы охотно окажете мне эту услугу. / С истинным уважением / Преданный Вам М<ихаил> Фарбман». ¹⁵⁴

С. П. Каблуков, посетив 19 августа (1 сентября) редакцию «Пантеона», услышал там от Абрамовича (Фарбмана) рассказ о плане издания «книги о Ветхозаветной поэзии с извлечениями из Иова и пророков» и дал ему совет привлечь к работе также православного церковного деятеля, историка, переводчика, специалиста по библеистике, богослова, публициста Александра Андреевича Грановского (Антонина, 1865–1927), – который окончил в 1890-х Киевскую духовную академию, активно участвовал затем в петербургских Религиозно-философских собраниях (1901–1903), был во второй половине 1900-х нарвским епископом, впоследствии стал митрополитом, одним из идеологов и вождей православного церковного обновленчества. ¹⁵⁵ Каблуков хорошо знал, кого рекомендует; несколько ранее, 14 (27) марта 1909-го, он записал в личном дневнике: «Во время <...> <сегодняшнего> разговора с И<ваном> Я<ковлевичем> Терновым ¹⁵⁶ <в Александро-Невской лавре> уже у ворот его квартиры я увидел высокого монаха, с поднятым у рясы воротником, в клобуке. В тяжелой походке и плотной его фигуре я сразу узнал моего хорошего знакомого, “заштатного” епископа Антонина (бывш<его> еп<ископа> Нарвского), уволенного “на покой” в конце января <(середине февраля)> прошлого года, за статьи о самодержавии, в коих он не очень сочувственно отнесся к сему “богоучрежденному” образу правления <...>. Этой совсем неожиданной встрече я был обрадован более, чем могу выразить словами. Кажется, и преосвященный Антонин был не прочь поговорить со мною, хотя и укорил ласково предположением, что я боюсь бывать у него, опасаясь навлечь на себя подозрение в “неблагонадежности”, общаясь с таким “крамольником” и “революционером”, как он. Я горячо возразил на это, что сам считаюсь “революционером” и даже более чем он – и что всякий раз, когда мне этим летом случалось приезжать в <Троице->Сергиеву

Пустынь <в Стрельне под Петербургом>, я очень хотел зайти к нему, но не решался этого сделать из боязни обеспокоить епископа. Он пригласил меня приехать к нему завтра – 15-го <(28)> марта и указал на 2 удобные поезда из П<етербур>га, в 9.15 и 10 ч<асов> утра. Я сразу согласился и, конечно, поеду. / В Петерб<ург> он приезжает довольно часто, скучая в Пустыне,¹⁵⁷ особенно зимой. “Здесь хоть анекдотом с кем-н<ибудь> можно перекинуться, а там – сидишь, как в ‘Крестах’”, сказал он. / Мы скоро простились, ибо было 10 ч<асов> – срок, когда закрываются ворота в Лавру. / Я спросил его всё-таки, не мог ли бы он принять участие в Р<елигиозно->ф<илософском> об<щест>ве. Он ответил совершенно отрицательно.¹⁵⁸ На следующий день Каблуков зафиксировал там же: «Сегодня <...> я выезжал к еп<ископу> Антонину в Сергиеву Пустынь, где прослушал литургию, а затем был у него с 2-х до 6 <с> ½-ой час<ов> пополудни. Говорили много об <архиепископе> Антонии Волынском <и Житомирском (А. П. Храповицком)>, о прот<оиерее> И. И.> Восторгове и его подлости, о положении и видах на будущее самого Антонина. Когда-нибудь я напишу здесь подробно содержание этих бесед. Мы вместе поехали в П<етербу>рг. Преосв<ященный> Антонин подарил мне экземпляр своего перевода акафиста Б<ожьей> Матери с греческого языка на русский. Перевод этот чрезвычайно стилистичен, выдержан, красив и точен. Издан он был в прошлом году всего в кол<ичестве> 200 эк<emplaire’ов>. / Я <вновь> просил преосвященного принять участие в ра<боте> Христианской Секции Р<елигиозно->ф<илософского> об<щест>ва».¹⁵⁹

20 сентября (3 октября) 1909-го Каблуков отметил в своем дневнике: «Сегодня у меня был М<ихаил> С<еменович> Фарбман. Составили вместе план книги “Ветхозаветная поэзия”. Будет 2 части. I-ая <часть –> Ветхозав<етные> повеств<ования>, а именно Руфь, Неемия, Есфирь, Иудифь, Иов. Статья Розанова об этих книгах. II-ая <часть –> Отрывки из пророков Исайи, Иеремии, Иезекииля, Осии, Даниила, Ионы. Статья? Совет мой обратиться к Антонину за указаниями».¹⁶⁰

Переводчиком большей части текстов запланированного «Пантеоном» сборника должен был стать А. М. Эфрос. Абрамович (Фарбман) обратился к нему 28 октября (10 ноября) 1909-го, на бланке «Пантеона»: «На днях я Вам напишу о нашем издании Библейской Поэзии. Очень вероятно, что мы обратимся к Вам за сотрудничеством¹⁶¹ для переводов. Как выясняется, это будет значительное предприятие. Об этом через несколько дней».¹⁶² Розанов написал статью к будущей книге и передал ее издательству осенью 1909-го. Этот текст, по оценке позднейшего эксперта, был «“корректен” по отношению к Библии», хотя и «имел сильную лирическую гравитацию».¹⁶³

7 (20) октября Абрамович (Фарбман) ответил автору: «Многоуважаемый / Василий Васильевич. / Рукопись к библейской поэзии получил. Спасибо Вам за нее. / Посылаю Вам “авторские” экземпляры “Книги Иорам” <Борхардта>. Надеюсь, издание Вам понравится. / Вышла ли уже “Русская Церковь”? / Постараюсь на днях у Вас побывать, чтобы окончательно сговориться о деталях издания Библейской поэзии. / Жму Вашу руку / Преданный Вам / М<ихаил> Фарбман».¹⁶⁴

Этот проект не осуществился, и собственная книга Розанова «Библейская поэзия», составленная из двух его статей: «О поэзии в Библии» (написанной для неосуществленной пантеоновской «Библейской поэзии» и датированной 1909–1911 годами) и «О “Песне песней”» (опубликованной ранее в пантеоновской «Песни Песней Соломона» и датированной 21 февраля (6 марта) 1909-го), вышла в свет в конце 1911 года без указания на чью бы то ни было издательскую ответственность,¹⁶⁵ тогда же поступила в РНБ,¹⁶⁶ в продаже же появилась не позднее 12 (25) ноября 1911-го.¹⁶⁷ Хотя в самой книге на обложке и титульном листе в качестве года издания обозначен 1912-й, в тексте указаны действительные сведения: «Окончена печатанием 20 октября <(2 ноября)> 1911 года в типографии А<лексея> С<ергеевича> Суворина».¹⁶⁸ В авторском предисловии, написанном специально для этого издания и датированном 16 (29) октября 1911-го, сообщено: «“О поэзии в Библии” было написано в 1909 году; печатается же теперь впервые. – “О *Песне песней*” было написано в 1909-м году и тогда же напечатано предисловием к изданию “Пантеона”: “*Песнь песней* Соломона. Перевод с древне-еврейского и примечания А<брама> Эфроса. С<анкт->п<етер>б<ург>. 1909 г<од>”».¹⁶⁹

При участии «Пантеона» готовилось и первое в России издание «Русской церкви» Розанова.¹⁷⁰ Идея издания этой монографии созрела у автора в начале (середине) июля 1909 года, и задуманная им книга должна была заметно отличаться от всех прежних проектов «Пантеона». Ее текст, неоднократно изданный к тому времени за границей, в переводах на разные языки и по-русски (русскаяязычное издание вышло в Париже, в издательстве Д. Е. Жуковского, в 1906-м), был напечатан уже и в России – П. Б. Струве в столичном журнале «Полярная звезда» в начале 1906 года, – однако со значительными изъятиями цензурного характера.¹⁷¹ Сам автор возлагал на выпуск полной версии «Русской церкви» на родине не только «высокие», принципиальные, но и определенные жизненные надежды; в сентябре 1909-го он написал С. П. Каблукову (переживавшему в тот момент преждевременный кризис среднего возраста и охотно делившемуся этим с окружающими¹⁷²): «<...> Вообще <в> нынешний год мы должны “составить себе имя”, т<о>

е<сть> добиться успеха во что бы то ни стало. Так сказать “загнуть на *пе*” (<...> см<отри> “Пиковая дама” Пушкина)». ¹⁷³

Уже летом 1909-го Розанов сообщил Каблукову: «Дорогой Сергей Платонович! <...> / А вот что надо бы издать к сентябрю: / “РУССКАЯ ЦЕРКОВЬ”. / Дух. Судьба. Очарования. Ничтожество. / Главный вопрос. / Это – для немецкого сборника <было написано>; нашел у себя оригинал. Страниц на 50; брошюра, пойдет. – – / Ваш любящ<ий> и благодарный / В<асилий> Розанов». ¹⁷⁴ 13 (26) июля Каблуков записал в личном дневнике: «Вчера я был у В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова <...>. Беседа наша была посвящена вопросу о будущих изданиях; решено выкупить “Лучи” ¹⁷⁵ за 1 000 рубл<ей>, докончить их печатание у Суворина и печатать немедленно брошюру “Русская церковь”, а также “Афоризмы” <...>. Новые издания начнем с августа». ¹⁷⁶ В авторском предисловии к «Русской церкви», написанном специально для российского издания и датированном августом 1909 года, сообщено: «Настоящая статья была написана для сборника “I Russi su la Russia”, изданном в Милане в 1905 г<оду>, – в памятные дни, когда все в Европе спрашивали с волнением, что такое Россия и русские, что они обещают или чем грозят. В следующем году книга была переведена на немецкий язык (“Russen uber Russland”) и издана во Франкфурте-на-Майне. Но когда мне предложено было написать о Русской Церкви для иностранного сборника, – я писал как бы для русских, просто что видел и что знал о Церкви, не думая ни мало об иностранцах. Иностранцам надо видеть то самое, что видим мы. В России статья эта (написанная по-русски и переведенная на итальянский и немецкий языки не мною) появилась в “Полярной Звезде” редакции П<етра> Б<ернгардовича> Струве (3-го <(16)> февраля 1906 г<ода>), – но без последних страниц. Теперь она печатается без каких-либо изменений, в русском оригинале». ¹⁷⁷ Кроме того, Розанов написал специально для нового издания «Русской церкви» финальный фрагмент. ¹⁷⁸

Тираж предполагалось изготовить, на самых выгодных условиях, в наиболее удобной для Розанова типографии «Нового времени» А. С. Суворина, корректором (а также отчасти редактором, художественным редактором и агентом по распространению) книги согласился быть Каблуков, ¹⁷⁹ при этом окончательную корректуру взялся выполнить сам автор. Он же принял участие в подборе цвета обложки, в обсуждении других деталей оформления книги. 25 июля (7 августа) 1909-го Каблуков отметил в личном дневнике: «23-го <июля (5 августа)> <...> В<асилий> В<асильевич> Розанов, приехавший <из Териок Эуряпяского уезда Выборгской губернии> в Петербург накануне, <...> навел меня, принеся свою статью “Русская Церковь” для печатания». ¹⁸⁰

В августе 1909-го Розанов написал Каблукову: «Дорог<ой> С<ергей> Пл<атонович>! Был в типографии С<увори>на, всё устроил. Будут печатать без залога и корректуру Вам наверное на днях пришлют. Помните – *последняя* мне, и тогда же я напишу строк 15 предисловия.¹⁸¹ “Пантеон” прислал мне еще свои издания: поразительно красивы, особенно маленькие квадратные. – Посылаю образцы обложек (из “Пант<еона>”).¹⁸² Я думаю, для Рус<ской> церкви надо взять голубую. / Не нужно ли / *Русская церковь* / – красным, а / Дух. Судьба.¹⁸³ / Ничтожество и очарование / Главный вопрос¹⁸⁴ – черным / А если на обложке “Всего красивее” – то *Русск<ая> церковь* – золотом (как у Пантеона). / О всем этом подумайте, мой дорогой. / Ваш В<асилий> Розанов / *Напишите* Ваш телефон нам (№). / В Тюрсево¹⁸⁵ мы до 20 <августа (2 сентября)>. В среду – у Репина. В эту пятницу – не приеду. / Буквы надо вырезать – нарисовать, “старая печать” не идет. Как это сделать? Нельзя ли похитить у “Пант<еона>”, т<о> е<сть> *составить* из их букв свою надпись? Только я “У” не вижу? Вообще ничего тут не понимаю, а хочется. / Ваш В<асилий> Роз<анов>». ¹⁸⁶ Позднее, в августе (сентябре), автор книги сообщил своему помощнику: «Дор<огой> С<ергей> П<латонович>! Я писал Михаилу Семеновичу Фарбману, заведующему издательством “Пантеон”, о желании срисовать у них буквы, – и тогда он мне ответил готовностью “стилизовать” вообще всю обложку, “со своим рисовальщиком”, “и сделать цинкографию”. Я думаю, с ним надо будет Вам повидаться: он ежедневно бывает в “Пантеоне” (Итальянская <улица>, 15). Есть телефон 289–13. Условьтесь о часе свидания <...>. Ваш любящ<ий> В<асилий> Розанов». ¹⁸⁷ 20 августа (2 сентября) Каблуков записал в личном дневнике: «Вчера днем я был у Мих<аила> Сем<еновича> Фарбмана в “Пантеоне”. Предупрежденный Розановым, он принял меня исключительно любезно, живо смастерил проэкт обложки для “Русской Церкви” Вас<илия> Вас<ильевича>, – будет такая же, как на монографии Мережковского о Лермонтове, – а затем разговорился о своих планах по издательству. Будут изданы: томов¹⁸⁸ 8 Мопассана, несколько томов Флобера в перев<одах> Зайцева, несколько монографий по искусству, “Книга Иорам” Борхард<т>а с рис<унками> Ал<ександра> Элиасберга,¹⁸⁹ очень хорошими, и пред<исловием> В<асилия> Розанова, книга о Ветхозаветной поэзии с извлечениями из Иова и пророков, и переиздана “Песнь Песней”. По поводу последней и Ветхозав<етной> поэзии я советовал ему обратиться к еп<ископу> Антонину¹⁹⁰ и дал его адрес. На прощание он дал мне текст “Книги Иорам” – 2-ую корр<ектуру>. Вернувшись, я прочел ее скоро, т<ак> к<ак> там всего 48 стр<аниц> крупной печати. Любопытно». ¹⁹¹ Позднее Розанов написал Каблукову: «Здравствуйте! Посмотрите – *так* ли я

прибавил? Не лучше ли без прибавки? Если *да* – пожалуй и не надо печатать. Не лучше ли и в заглавии: / *РУССКАЯ ЦЕРКОВЬ. / Характеристика. / А то “Идея. Дух. Судьба.*¹⁹² *Очарование и ничтожество. / Главный вопрос”* / – не слишком ли протяженно? Посоветуйтесь *в деле вкуса* – и с Фарбманом. “Вкусовые вещи” он понимает».¹⁹³

Абрамович (Фарбман) заказал П. Н. Троянскому, в прошлом сотруднику Гржебина по «Адской почте»,¹⁹⁴ художественное оформление для этой книги (по-видимому, денежные затруднения «Пантеона» не позволили привлечь более именитого художника). 31 августа (13 сентября) 1909 года он написал С. П. Каблукову: «Многоуважаемый Сергей Платонович <...>. / Надпись <для обложки «Русской церкви»>, надеюсь, будет готова завтра утром. Поразительно, что все художники, специалисты по “буквам”, в отъезде, и я не знал сначала, к кому обратиться / Преданный Вам М<ихаил> Фарбман».¹⁹⁵ Троянский выполнил заказ в сентябре 1909-го; при этом он проявил неуместную инициативу и переделал авторский подзаголовок «Дух. Судьба. Очарование и ничтожество. Главный вопрос» в «Дух. Судьба. Ничтожество и очарование. Главный вопрос» (это ему понадобилось, чтобы равномернее вписать текст в габаритный прямоугольник). 7 (20) сентября 1909-го руководитель «Пантеона» оповестил Каблукова (на бланке издательства): «Многоуважаемый Сергей Платонович. / Только сейчас получил клише надписи. Предлагаю разместить <его так,> как у меня проклеено. / Сегодня еду в Москву; вернусь в четверг и, если разрешите, заеду к Вам, – потолкуем о цвете обложки и проч<ем>. / Жму руку. Преданный Вам / М<ихаил> Фарбман / Черкните открытое <письмо> сюда, когда я мог бы заехать к Вам в пятницу или в субботу».¹⁹⁶ 11 (24) сентября Каблуков записал в личном дневнике: «Сегодня был у меня М<ихаил> С<еменович> Фарбман по делу об обложке для “Русск<ой> Церкви” В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова, а также и сей последний¹⁹⁷ <был>. М<ихаил> С<еменович> совещался со мной о сборнике “Ветхозаветная поэзия”, который намерено издать очень скоро изд<ательство> “Пантеон”. Я пригласил его для продолжения этой беседы завтракать 13-го <(26)> сент<ября> в 12 ч<асов> дня».¹⁹⁸

Отношения участников работы омрачило отсутствие у издательства даже минимально необходимых денежных средств. Абрамович (Фарбман) обратился к Каблукову с письмом следующего содержания: «Многоуважаемый Сергей Платонович. / Сейчас застал в редакции записку художника Троянского, что он зайдет сегодня, чтобы получить следуемый ему гонорар за надпись “русская Церковь” (15 рублей). Так как я сейчас совсем без денег, то я вынужден просить Вас об этой мелочи. Я бы никогда¹⁹⁹ не решился говорить

о таких пустяках, будь²⁰⁰ я несколько свободнее в деньгах. / Рисунок стоит 15 руб<лей>. Клише <стоит> 4 р<убля> 20 коп<еек>. / Буду очень благодарен, если передадите эту мелочь подателю сего письма, иначе я боюсь <в>стать в неловкое положение по отношению к этим лицам. / Жму Вашу руку. / Преданный Вам М<ихаил> Фарбман».²⁰¹ Возмущенный адресат переслал полученное Розанову, с припиской: «Дорогой В<асилий> В<асильевич>! / Как реагировать на это письмо? Для меня оно – полная неожиданность. / Сообщите. / Ваш С<ергей> Каблуков».²⁰² Розанов потребовал у издателя объяснений, и тот ответил недатированным (наиболее вероятно, от сентября 1909-го по содержанию, также на бланке «Пантеона») письмом: «Дорогой Василий Васильевич. / Деньги эти до сегодня и не нужны были, так как Троянский (художник) только вчера приехал. Я очень жалею, что пришлось об этом говорить. / Посылаю Вам новую книжечку <«Ищейки» Ш. ван Лерберга>. Книга Иорам <Борхардта> будет на днях. / Всего хорошего. Преданны<й> Ва<м> / М<ихаил> Фарбм<ан>».²⁰³

Низкий темп и результаты работы не удовлетворили Розанова. Он написал Каблукову в начале (середине) октября 1909-го: «Сердит к<а>к ваш математик на стене. Или как 2 Везувия рядом. Это черт знает что!! / 1½ недели пишем на желтой обложке. / Прямо – мы сами желтые, из желтого дома. / Вы были летом орел, а теперь – мокрая курица. Даже без хвоста. Или воробей по осени!!! / Вы совсем втюрились в Вашу Зиночку²⁰⁴ (“рыбак рыбака видит из далека”) и забыли Богданова, меня, Митюрникова,²⁰⁵ всё забыли!! / <...> Так как Вы раскисли, а я напротив “в подъеме”, то я думаю, – Вам надо присылать только 2-ую корректуру: а мне – первую, где я установил бы текст (очевидно, многое надо будет выбросить). Вы же посмотрите к<а>к *читатель*, и скажете: интересно ли, нужно ли? / Ваш В<асилий> Розанов».²⁰⁶ 31 декабря 1909-го (13 января 1910-го) Каблуков зафиксировал в личном дневнике, в перечне наиболее заметных «событий своей внешней жизни» завершившегося года: «Декабрь <...>. Охлаждение ко мне В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова».²⁰⁷

В результате тираж книги был отпечатан суворинской типографией осенью 1909-го, без всякого указания на чью бы то ни было издательскую ответственность.²⁰⁸ Сразу после этого он был арестован, против автора «Русской церкви» и «виновных в ее напечатании» – возбуждено судебное преследование. С. П. Каблуков записал 6 (19) октября 1909-го в личном дневнике: «Сегодня узнал, что на вышедшую сегодня в свет книгу В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова “Русская Церковь” (стр<аниц> 39. С<анкт->П<етер>Б<ург>, 1909 г<од>, тип<ография> А<лексей> С<ергеевича> Суворина, ц<ена> 40 к<опеек>) Главное Упр<авление> по делам печати

наложило арест. Всего напечатано 3 600 экз<емпляров>. В<асилий> В<асильевич> чрезвычайно расстроен этим арестом, тем более, что и для него и для меня арест является вполне неожиданным. Только по догадке могу думать, какие именно места книги послужили поводом для ее конфискации. Из прилагаемого здесь экземпляра предисловия к ней <...> видно, что частью статья эта уже была напечатана в России (“Пол<ярная> Зв<езда>” Струве <от> 3 <(16)> февр<аля> 1909 г<ода>). Во-первых, нецензурным могли признать рассуждение о девстве Богородицы <...>, несомненно неуместное в дешевой брошюре, ибо это – великая тайна, постигаемая мистически лишь <теми,> “кому дано”. Во-вторых, подчеркнутые мною фразы, из последней части статьи, появляющейся впервые».²⁰⁹ 10 (23) октября Каблуков зафиксировал: «Сегодня получены от В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова 3 экземпляра “Русской Церкви”. На одном сделана им надпись: “С<ергею> П<латоновичу> Каблукову. Ваш вкус, Сергей Платонович, и мое вдохновение родили эту желтую – ныне, увы, арестованную книжицу. В<асилий> Розанов”. / Из этих 3-х ex<emplaire’ов> один будет подарен мною другу моему <и неприятелю Розанова, члену Петербургского РФО> Д<митрию> Вл<адимировичу> Знаменскому, которому завтра я посылаю извещение об этом вместе с окончанием “Бледного коня”²¹⁰ Д<митрия> С<ергеевича> М<ережковского> и статьей того же автора, имеющей появиться завтра».²¹¹ Экземпляр запрещенной книги Розанова был передан Каблуковым Знаменскому 25 октября (7 ноября); даритель записал тогда же в личный дневник: «Сегодня был у меня Д<митрий> Вл<адимирович> Знаменский. Подарил ему 1 ex<emplaire> “Русской Церкви” В<асилия> Розанова».²¹² Уже 12 (25) октября Каблуков отметил там же: «З<инаида> Н<иколаевна> Мережковская, прочитав книгу В<асилия> Розанова “Русская Церковь”, сказала мне сегодня, что эта книга заслуживает ареста: “Какую ужасную книгу написал Розанов”. Осуждает она и статью В<асилия> В<асильевича> в “Весах”: “Магическая страница у Гоголя”, в которой В<асилий> В<асильевич> не в шутку защищает и даже похваливает кровосмешения (Весы, Август <19>09 г<ода>). Действительно, статья эта довольно беззастенчива по мысли и нескромна по тону и языку».²¹³ 8 (21) января 1910-го Петербургский окружной суд постановил уничтожить «Русскую церковь».²¹⁴ 14 (27) января Каблуков записал: «Разговор по телефону с В<асилием> В<асильевичем> Розановым <...>. О “Русской Церкви”, обреченной на сожжение постановлением судебной палаты от 8-го <(21)> Января (см<отри> Петерб<ургские> газеты <от> 9 <(22)> Янв<аря>), он сказал, что два адвоката взялись обжаловать это постановление в высшей инстанции. Результаты неизвестны...».²¹⁵ Весной

1911-го из книги изъяли целый ряд пространных фрагментов (эти страницы пришлось перепечатывать, с заменой всего запрещенного строками из точек), после чего, уже в испорченном цензурой виде, она была допущена в 1912-м к обращению и тогда же поступила в РНБ.²¹⁶

Формально издательство «Пантеон» просуществовало до 1912-го. В последний год, однако, оно не выпускало книг, поскольку в 1911-м Гржебин вдохновился новым замыслом – проектом строительства на окраине столицы, на острове Голодай, обширного жилищно-делового массива «Новый Петербург» – и переключил свою энергию и средства на это. Кроме того, с весны по осень 1912-го семья Гржебиных находилась в продолжительной заграничной поездке (по Швейцарии).²¹⁷ В течение этого периода подготовленная «Пантеоном» и не разошедшаяся печатная продукция была приобретена и пущена в продажу разными столичными предприятиями: издательствами «Прометей» Н. Н. Михайлова, «Сатирикон» М. Г. Корнфельда, «Шиповник» Гржебина и Копельмана, журналом «Неделя» (некоторые книги вышли в перелицованном виде и под новой маркой).

Впоследствии оба главные руководителя «Пантеона» продолжали трудиться в издательской области. Гржебин, изгнанный в 1913-м семейным альянсом Копельманов и Антиков из «Шиповника», устроился в АО издательского и печатного дела в Петербурге «Издательское дело, бывшее Брокгауз и Ефрон» и сотрудничал там в 1913–1914 годах,²¹⁸ пытался организовать (при участии семейства Ефронов, а также М. К. Дориомедова в качестве сотрудника) литературно-художественное издание «Новый шиповник»,²¹⁹ после начала Первой мировой войны был – в 1914–1915-м – издателем и ответственным редактором созданных при помощи Ефронов петроградских «патриотически» ориентированных журнала «Отечество» и одноименного книгоиздательства при нем,²²⁰ участвовал летом 1916-го в организации столичной «банковской газеты» «Русская воля»,²²¹ пробовал осенью 1916-го устроиться на службу в учрежденное при содействии посольства Великобритании информационное Англо-русское бюро.²²² Знаменательным для Гржебина стал 1917-й, год его сорокалетия: в марте он принял участие в создании «Министерства искусств» (Комиссии по делам искусства²²³), возглавил Общество (Союз) социалистической печати.²²⁴ Тогда же бывший руководитель «Пантеона» продолжил демонстрировать свои способности в качестве организатора либо сотрудника ряда петроградских литературно-издательских и общественно-политических предприятий – «пораженчески» ориентированного издательства «Парус»,²²⁵ газеты «Новая жизнь» («Свободная жизнь»),²²⁶ издательства «Всемирная литература»;²²⁷ в этот период он вновь обратился к выпуску

переводной литературы, спрос на которую резко вырос после начала Первой мировой войны.²²⁸ Уже летом 1918-го Гржебин принял участие в деятельности прекратившегося было петроградского издательства «Гиперборей» М. Л. Лозинского (существовавшего с лета 1912-го),²²⁹ а затем и вернулся к самостоятельной книгоиздательской деятельности – выпустив в 1919-м (с указанием себя как издателя) обещанный ранее «Гиперборею» ассиро-вавилонский эпос «Гильгамеш»,²³⁰ переиздав не позднее февраля 1919-го «вакхическую драму» И. Ф. Анненского «Фамиракифаред» и организовав в мае того же года собственное «Издательство З. И. Гржебина», – сразу заявившее о своих грандиозных планах, тогда же оцененных некоторыми трезво мыслящими современниками как едва ли выполнимые и «авантюристические».²³¹ По некоторым сведениям, в первые послеоктябрьские годы Гржебин «имел непосредственное отношение» также к петроградскому издательству «Странствующий энтузиаст» Т. М. Кобеко (Персиц, Лурье).²³² Летом 1919-го он безуспешно попытался, при поддержке Горького, наладить в бывшей столице выпуск «ежемесячного внепартийного журнала» «Завтра», «призванный защищать ценности мировой цивилизации, объединить все интеллигентные силы страны с тем, чтобы содействовать восстановлению духовных связей с Западом»,²³³ затем переселился в Москву, в «отличную квартиру недалеко от Румянцевского Музея», прилаживался там с наркомом А. В. Луначарским,²³⁴ побывал летом–осенью 1920-го в качестве эмиссара СНК РСФСР в зарубежной командировке (выяснял ближайшие возможности «печатания за границей наиболее важных для страны изданий»),²³⁵ подвергся аресту ВЧК в 1921-м (но был освобожден вскоре, после вмешательства Горького), эмигрировал в октябре того же года вместе с семьей (сохранив советский паспорт), продолжил издательскую деятельность за рубежом (в Берлине, затем в Париже, некоторое время в Стокгольме и Праге), скончался в феврале 1929-го и был похоронен в Париже. Его компаньон по «Пантеону» Абрамович (Фарбман) работал в начале 1910-х годов для петербургских отделений виленской книготорговой Конторы О. И. Бунимовича²³⁶ и издательского и книготоргового АО «Лектор», выпустил в 1914-м под эгидой издательства «Грядущий день» И. В. и С. А. Ефронов свою монографию «Архитектура итальянского Ренессанса»,²³⁷ был с осени 1914-го стокгольмским корреспондентом петроградского «Дня» (работая одновременно и для стокгольмской «Dagens Nyheter»),²³⁸ в 1915–1917-м – лондонским корреспондентом петроградских «Биржевых ведомостей» и «Новой жизни»,²³⁹ вернулся затем на родину, был московским корреспондентом «The Chicago Daily News», «The Manchester Guardian» и «The

Observer»,²⁴⁰ жил впоследствии в Великобритании, где продолжал заниматься журналистикой и издательской деятельностью (в частности, публиковался в «The Economist», написал несколько книг и брошюр по проблемам советской политики и экономики, был сотрудником биографического словаря «Who's Who», участвовал в подготовке ряда других коллективных изданий), скончался в мае 1933-го и был похоронен в Лондоне.²⁴¹

Розанов и Каблуков умерли от истощения и болезней в 1919 году; первый был похоронен на кладбище Черниговского скита у Троице-Сергиевой лавры, второй – на Николаевском кладбище петербургской Александро-Невской лавры.

Примечания

¹ Также см.: Голлербах Е. А. Петербургское издательство «Пантеон» (1907–1912) и его место в истории символистского книгоиздания // Наука о книге. Традиции и инновации: Материалы 12-й междунар. науч. конф. по проблемам книговедения: Москва, 28–30 апр. 2009 г.: К 50-летию сб. «Книга. Исследования и материалы»: В 4 ч. Ч. 1. М.: Наука, 2009. С. 113–115; Юниверг Леонид <И.>. «Человек астрономических планов»: Взлет и падение Зиновия Гржебина // Лехаим (М.). 2010. Янв. № 1 (213). С. 32; Голлербах Е. А. Германский след в русском пантеоне: Петерб. изд-во «Пантеон» (1907–1912) как агент нем. культ. // Вестник Русской христианской гуманитарной академии (СПб.). Т. 11. 2010. Вып. 3. С. 177–187; Голлербах Е. А. Семейные ценности: Федор Сологуб в изд-ве «Пантеон» // Федор Сологуб: Биография, творчество, интерпретации: Материалы IV Междунар. науч. конф. / <Сост. и авт. предисл. М. М. Павлова>. СПб.: <Коста>, 2010. С. 39–73; Голлербах Е. А. Тропой Шлемиля: Венгеровы и петерб. изд-во «Пантеон» (1907–1912) // Книжная культура: Опыт прошлого и проблемы современности: 2010: К 90-летию Н.-и. ин-та книговедения в Петрограде: Материалы IV Междунар. науч. конф. (Москва, 24–25 нояб. 2010 г.) / <Сост. В. И. Васильев, Д. Н. Бакун, М. А. Ермолаева, А. В. Николенко; отв. ред. В. И. Васильев>. М.: Наука, 2010. С. 85–89; Шерих Д. Ю. Книгоиздательство «Пантеон»: (1907–1912) // Книжное дело в России в XIX – начале XX века: Сб. науч. тр. Вып. 15 / <Сост. О. Н. Ильина, Н. Г. Патрушева, И. И. Фролова; отв. ред. Н. Г. Патрушева>. СПб.: <Изд-во РНБ>, 2010. С. 135–146.

² Он числился единоличным легальным владельцем «Пантеона» с (по-видимому) ноября 1907-го по 19 января (1 февраля) 1909-го.

³ Он числился совладельцем «Пантеона» с 1 (14) сентября 1908-го, а единоличным легальным владельцем – с 19 января (1 февраля) 1909-го по 25 января (7 февраля) 1910-го.

⁴ Он числился совладельцем «Пантеона» с 1 (14) сентября 1908-го по январь 1909-го.

⁵ Он числился, совместно с Гржебиным, совладельцем «Пантеона» с 25 января (7 февраля) 1910-го.

⁶ См.: ЦГИА СПб. Ф. 14 (Петерб. (Петрогр.) ун-т). Оп. 15. Ед. хр. 950. Л. 8 (это заверенная копия свидетельства сестры Гржебина С. О. (С. Ш., С. И.) Фарбман (Гржебиной), в ее университетском личном деле).

⁷ То есть Гржебина.

⁸ АГ ИМЛИ. МОГ 1–16–1. Л. 9–10.

⁹ <Корнейчуков Н. В.>. Дневник: <В 2 т.>. <Т. 2>. 1930–1969 / <Сост., вступ. заметка, подгот. текста, коммент. Е. Ц. Чуковской>. <Изд. 2-е, испр.>. М.: Современ. писатель, 1997. С. 438–439 (подп.: К. Чуковский; это запись 1968 года).

¹⁰ Возвращаясь к имени Зиновия Исаевича Гржебина: Извест. письмо А. М. Горького В. И. Ленину / <Вступ. заметка,> публ. <и коммент.> Иосифа <И.> Вайнберга // Евреи в культуре Русского Зарубежья: Сб. статей, публ., мемуаров и эссе: 1919–1939 гг. Вып. II <(2)> / Сост. М. <А.> Пархомовский. Иерусалим: М. <А.> Пархомовский, 1993. С. 309; Динерштейн Е. А. Российское книгоиздание (конец XVIII–XX в<ека>): Избр. статьи. М.: Наука, 2004. С. 416.

¹¹ <Корнейчуков Н. В.>. Дневник. <Т. 2> (см. примеч. 9). С. 437 (это запись 1968 года).

¹² Согласно первому буклету-проспекту «Пантеона», готовившемуся Гржебиным (при участии Ю. К. Балтрушайтиса, А. А. Блока и В. Я. Брюсова) не позднее чем с осени 1907-го.

¹³ Согласно позднейшим буклетам-проспектам; с незначительными вариациями этот текст печатался затем в разных изданиях «Пантеона».

¹⁴ Иванова Евг. <В.>. Письма Чуковского // <Корнейчуков Н. В.>. Собрание сочинений: В 15 т. Т. 14. Письма. 1903–1925 / <Сост. Е. В. Ивановой, Л. А. Спиридоновой и Е. Ц. Чуковской; общ. ред., подгот. текстов и коммент. Е. В. Ивановой и Е. Ц. Чуковской; вступ. статья Е. В. Ивановой>. <Ярославль; указ.: М.>: Терра – Кн. клуб, 2008. С. 14–15, 19 (подп.: Корней Чуковский).

¹⁵ Голлербах Эрих <Ф.>. Встречи и впечатления / <Сост., подгот. текстов и коммент. Е. А. Голлербаха>. СПб.: Инапресс, 1998. С. 87.

¹⁶ <Розанов В. В.>. Дружба народов // Русское слово (М.). 1910. 10 <(23)> февр. № 32. С. 2 (подп.: В. Варварин).

¹⁷ По выражению Розанова (см.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 116).

¹⁸ Quidquid id est, – timeo Danaos et dona ferentes (лат.) – что там ни будь, – я данайцев боюсь и дары приносящих (это из поэмы «Энеида» Вергилия; пер. В. Я. Брюсова).

¹⁹ В действительности – шурин, брат жены.

²⁰ Журналист, поэт, политический деятель умеренно либерального (октябристского) направления Александр Аркадьевич Столыпин (1863–1925) был, кроме прочего, постоянным сотрудником столичной газеты «Новое время» А. С. Суворина с 1904 года. Упомянутый далее его старший брат Петр Аркадьевич Столыпин (1862–1911) был, кроме прочего, министром внутренних дел и затем также председателем Совета министров с 1906-го до своей гибели.

²¹ Имеется в виду рисунок «Орел-оборотень» Гржебина в первом номере столичного журнала «Жупел».

²² Литературный критик, поэт, прозаик Александр Алексеевич Измайлов (1873–1921); кроме прочего, он вел с 1898 по 1916 годы рубрику «Литературное обозрение» в популярной столичной газете «Биржевые ведомости» С. М. Проппера.

²³ Юрист Мордко Гершкович (Дмитрий Григорьевич) Богров (1887–1911) был с 1910-го помощником присяжного поверенного, секретным агентом киевского Охранного отделения, в сентябре 1911-го смертельно ранил П. А. Столыпина.

²⁴ Юрист, журналист Аркадий Вениаминович Руманов (1878–1960) также был сотрудником «Биржевых ведомостей» до 1912-го и заведующим столичным отделением московской газеты «Русское слово» И. Д. Сытина с 1905-го по 1917-й.

²⁵ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 1–1 об. (это недатированная (конца 1910-х) пояснительная заметка Розанова к письмам Абрамовича (Фарбмана) к нему; выделено Розановым).

²⁶ Так в оригинале.

²⁷ СПФ АРАН. Ф. 9 (Канц. II Отд-ния АН (ОРЯС) (1847–1927)). Оп. 3. Ед. хр. 24. Л. 92–92 об. (это рецензия Кони на перевод «Песни песней», выполненный В. Е. Яковлевым (см.: Там

же. Л. 51–69) и представленный им же на соискание последней академической литературной премии имени А. С. Пушкина в январе (феврале) 1918-го, от 10 марта 1919-го; выделено Кони).

²⁸ Там же. Л. 92 об.

²⁹ Там же. Л. 94.

³⁰ Согласно буклетам-проспектам «Пантеона».

³¹ В его сборнике «Из Книги Невидимой», выпущенном московским издательством «Скорпион» С. А. Полякова не позднее июня 1905-го. См.: <Чулков Г. И.>. Александр Добролюбов. Из книги невидимой <...>: <Рец.> // Вопросы жизни (СПб.). 1905. Июнь. № 6. С. 247.

³² РО ИРЛИ. Ф. 444 (В. Я. Брюсов). Ед. хр. 36. Л. 2–2 об.; с искажениями опубликовано: Письма <В. Я. Брюсова> к петербургским и московским литераторам / Публ. Э. С. Литвин, А. Н. Дубовикова, М. В. Рыбина, К. Н. Суворовой, Н. А. Трифонова // Литературное наследство: <Сб.>. Т. 85. Валерий Брюсов / Гл. ред. В. Р. Щербина; <отв. ред. А. Н. Дубовиков, Н. А. Трифонов, при участии Т. Г. Динесман>. М.: Наука, 1976. С. 667; также см.: <Толмачев М. В.>. Абрам Маркович Эфрос: Биограф. справка // Эфрос А. М. Мастера разных эпох: Избр. ист.-худож. и крит. статьи: Классич. искусство Запада. Рус. искусство. Сов. художники / <Сост. и авт. вступ. статьи и прил. М. В. Толмачев>. М.: Сов. худож., 1979. С. 305.

³³ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 36. Л. 16 (это удостоверение «Аполлона», подписанное «за редактора» М. Л. Лозинским и датированное 12 (25) января 1918 года).

³⁴ Там же. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 1 (это автобиография Эфроса 1948 года); Там же. Л. 6 (это «Личный листок по учету кадров» КДИ при Совете министров Союза ССР, заполненный Эфросом 10 сентября 1949-го).

³⁵ См.: Там же. Ед. хр. 36. Л. 15 (это удостоверение названного объединения, выданное Эфросу и датированное 7 (20) февраля 1908-го).

³⁶ Там же. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 5 (это служебная анкета МХАТ СССР имени Горького, заполненная Эфросом 10 ноября 1944-го); также см.: Там же. Л. 7 (это «Личный листок по учету кадров» КДИ при Совете министров Союза ССР, заполненный Эфросом 10 сентября 1949 года).

³⁷ См.: <Толмачев М. В.>. Абрам Маркович Эфрос // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 32). С. 305; Зайцев Борис <К.>. Собрание сочинений: <В 5 т.>. <Т. 6 (доп.)>. Мои современники: Воспоминания; портреты; мемуар. повести / <Сост., авт. вступ. статьи и примеч. Т. Ф. Прокопов, при участии Н. Б. Соллогуб (Зайцевой)>. <Архангельск; указ.: М.>: Рус. кн., 1999. С. 240; Хазан Владимир <И.>. Особенный еврейско-русский воздух: К проблематике и поэтике рус.-евр. лит. диалога в XX в. <М.; указ.: Иерусалим, М.>: Гешарим; Мосты культуры; <М. Л. Гринберг>, 2001. С. 57–59, 312–313; Толмачев Михаил <В.>. Бутылка в море: Страницы лит. и искусства. М.: <Д. В. Аронов>, <2001; указ.: 2002>. С. 211–227. Согласно хранящемуся в архиве Эфроса недатированному, не ранее 1953 года по содержанию, «Примерному списку работ А<брама> М<арковича> Эфроса, которые могут быть объединены в сборник», к концу жизни им были подготовлены, кроме ряда переводов произведений Й. Р. (Й.) Бехера, Ш. П. (Ш.) Бодлера, А. П. Т.Ж. (П.) Валери, Данте Алигьери, Микеланджело Буонарротти, Ф. Петрарки, а также «Песни Песней Соломона» (1910) и «Книги Руфь» (1925), перевод «Плача Иеремии» (1921), сборник переводов «Библейская лирика» (1924) и перевод «Сказания о Самсоне» (1926) (НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 8).

³⁸ Своим школьным товарищам Гене, Ляле и Мише.

³⁹ Имеется в виду А. М. Эфрос.

⁴⁰ Так в оригинале.

⁴¹ Так в оригинале.

⁴² НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 13. Ед. хр. 1. Л. 5.

⁴³ Там же. Ед. хр. 8. Л. 18 об. (это не имеющий заглавия пространный автобиографический очерк (1910–1911) Эфроса).

⁴⁴ Mon idée fixe (*фр.*) – моя постоянная идея.

⁴⁵ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 13. Ед. хр. 1. Л. 1, 3–3 об. (текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

⁴⁶ Далее автором дневника зачеркнуто: «надеждой».

⁴⁷ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 13. Ед. хр. 1. Л. 9 об.–10; также см.: Там же. Ед. хр. 8. Л. 14 об.–15 (это не имеющий заглавия автобиографический очерк (1910–1911) Эфроса).

⁴⁸ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 13. Ед. хр. 1. Л. 19.

⁴⁹ Там же. Ед. хр. 8. Л. 1–1 об.

⁵⁰ Далее автором очерка зачеркнуто: «разрушал старое еврейство».

⁵¹ Далее автором зачеркнуто: «и создавал новое».

⁵² Далее автором зачеркнуто: «страстная».

⁵³ Далее автором зачеркнуто: «я старался окончательно переоценить талмуд, страстно предавался разрушению, вырывал в себе любимые детские воспоминания о религиозной жизни с отцом и заглашал нежность к ним».

⁵⁴ Далее автором письма зачеркнуто: «Братья, иного душевного склада <(далее автором зачеркнуто: «нежели я»)>, увидев только, что я бросил обрядность, сделали то же, но дальше не шли, словно ожидая, куда приведет мой новый путь».

⁵⁵ Далее автором зачеркнуто: «исключил меня».

⁵⁶ Далее автором зачеркнуто: «это было настоящее отлучение, я его перенося<л>», «я не принимал участия ни в общих».

⁵⁷ Далее автором зачеркнуто: «по приказанию свыше».

⁵⁸ Далее автором зачеркнуто: «Он, даже чужим старавшийся помочь благостью религии, меня отлучил от нее; каково, при его вере, было ему это? <(Далее автором зачеркнуто: «Когда второй брат пошел по моей дороге, и с ним было то же»)>. Я признавал это, но слишком был занят своей работой и слишком думал о будущей жизни своей и роли в судьбах еврейского народа, чтоб<ы> <(далее автором зачеркнуто: «долго останавливаться над этим»)> внимательнее присмотреться к отцу».

⁵⁹ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 13. Ед. хр. 8. Л. 15–15 об.

⁶⁰ Так в оригинале.

⁶¹ Так в оригинале.

⁶² Так в оригинале.

⁶³ РГАЛИ. Ф. 44 (И. А. Бунин). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 93. Л. 3 об.–4 (это недатированное, от конца 1908 года или начала 1909-го по содержанию, письмо (из тюрьмы, где Гржебин в тот момент находился)).

⁶⁴ См. буклеты-проспекты и каталоги «Пантеона», а также: *Барбэ д'Оревилли Жюль <А.>*. Лики дьявола: <Рассказы> / Пер. <с фр.> Александры <Н.> Чеботаревской; статьи Максимилиана Волошина <(М. А. Кириенко-Волошина)>; ил. Фелисиена Ропса; <с портр. авт.; худож. Е. Е. Лансере I и П. Н. Троянский>. СПб.: Пантеон, <1908>. С. 221; <Балтрушайтис Ю. К.?.>. Пантеон // Весы (М.). 1908. Нояб. <№ 11>. С. 66 (подп.: М. П.); *Мопассан, де, Гюи*. Полное собрание сочинений: Новые пер. с послед. (юбилейн.) изд. Александры <Н.> Чеботаревской, Зинаиды А. Венгеровой, Сергея <М.> Городецкого, Бориса <К.> Зайцева, Федора Сологуба <(Ф. К. Тетерникова)> и Анастасии <Н.> Чеботаревской <(Тетерниковой, Сологуб)>. Т. I <(I)>. «Пышка» и др.<угие> рассказы / Пер. <с фр.> Сергея <М.> Городецкого; вступ. статьи Поля Нэвё и Федора Сологуба <(Ф. К. Тетерникова)>. <Изд. 2-е, с изм., дорогое> / <Худож. Л. Х. И. (Л. С.) Розенберг (Л. Бакст); с портр. Ф. М. Аруэ (Вольтера), Ф. Грильпарцера, Ж. А. Барбэ д'Оревилли, Г. де Мопассана и О. Уайлда работы разных худож. и заставками Г. И. (Е. И.) Нарбута>. СПб.: Пантеон, <1908; указ.: MDCCCXCIX>. С. 114; <Н. а.>. Книгоиздательство «Пантеон»: <Рекл. объявл.> // Северное сияние (М.). № 6. 1909. Апр. 3-я с. обл.

⁶⁵ Так в оригинале.

⁶⁶ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 2–2 об. (это недатированное, не позднее начала 1909-го по содержанию, письмо на бланке «Пантеона»; выделено автором текста, здесь и далее тексты приведены с исправлением пунктуации).

⁶⁷ Там же. Л. 4 (это письмо также на бланке «Пантеона»).

⁶⁸ Сергей Платонович Каблуков (1881–1919) был во второй половине 1900-х годов протеже волынского и житомирского архиепископа А. П. Храповицкого (Антония), сблизился в конце 1908-го с В. В. Розановым (который даже назвал его весной 1909-го своим «преданным и самоотверженным оруженосцем»; см.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 4. Л. 118 (это воспроизведенная Каблуковым 12 (25) мая в его личном дневнике дарственная надпись Розанова на его книге «Итальянские впечатления»); четыре письма Каблукова к Розанову, 1903 (тогда Каблуков и Розанов еще не были лично знакомы) и 1918 годов, см.: РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 471. Л. 1–12 об.), стал в марте 1909-го действительным членом столичного РФО и секретарем совета его свежееобразованной Секции по изучению вопросов истории, философии и мистики христианства (Христианской секции), 29 ноября (12 декабря) 1909-го – также членом совета и секретарем РФО (последнюю должность он занимал до 1913-го) и председателем его свежееобразованной Секции по изучению истории и философии религии. Уже в марте 1909-го Каблуков познакомился и сблизился также с супругами Мережковскими и А. В. Карташевым, в мае – с Вяч. И. Ивановым, в июне – с И. Е. Репиным. См.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 4. Л. 105, 108; Там же. Ед. хр. 7. Л. 144, 147, 172, 176, 268–270 (это дневниковые записи Каблукова, от 10 (23) мая 1909-го, 21 ноября (4 декабря), 29 ноября (12 декабря) и 31 декабря 1909-го (13 января 1910-го)); Павлова М. <М.>. Послесловие // Новое литературное обозрение (М.). № 8. 1994. С. 19, 23; Хеллман Бен = Hellman Ben. Osip Mandelstam and Finland // Slavica Helsingiensia: <Сб.>. <Vol.> 16. Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia V <(5)>: Модернизм и постмодернизм в рус. лит. и культ. / Под ред. П. Песонена, Ю. Хейнонена и Г. В. Обатнина. Helsinki: <Helsinki Univ. Press>, 1996. Р. 279–282; и др.

⁶⁹ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 4. Л. 77.

⁷⁰ См.: Книжная летопись ГУДП (СПб.). 1909. 6 <(19)> июня. № 23. С. 17. № 10 158 (издание названо в числе книг, поступивших в ГУДП с 28 мая (10 июня) по 4 (17) июня 1909 года; его тираж был 1 300 экземпляров).

⁷¹ См.: ОАД РНБ. Ф. 1 (ИПБ). Оп. 4. Ед. хр. 188. Л. 11. № 12 493 (это запись во 2-й книге «Реестра для записи книг, поступивших в <Императорскую Публичную> библиотеку за 1909 год»). Здесь и далее Российская национальная библиотека, имевшая на протяжении своей истории разные наименования (первоначально – Императорская Публичная библиотека (ИПБ), с 1917-го – Российская Публичная библиотека (РПБ), с 1925-го – Государственная Публичная библиотека (ГПБ) в Ленинграде, с 1932-го – Государственная Публичная библиотека (ГПБ) имени М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, с 1992-го – Российская национальная библиотека), обозначена ныне принятой аббревиатурой РНБ. Аббревиатурой ОАД обозначен отдел архивных документов, ОР – отдел рукописей, АДП – архив Дома Плеханова. Кроме того, в основном тексте и примечаниях использованы следующие аббревиатуры: АН – Академия наук, АО – акционерное общество, ГРМ – Государственный Русский музей, ГУДП – Главное управление по делам печати, ИМЛИ – Институт мировой литературы, ИРЛИ – Институт русской литературы, КДИ – Комитет по делам искусств, МВД – Министерство внутренних дел, МХАТ – Московский Художественный академический театр, НИОР – научно-исследовательский отдел рукописей, ОРЯС – Отделение русского языка и словесности, РАЕН – Российская академия естественных наук, РАН – Российская академия наук, РГАЛИ – Российский государственный архив литературы и искусства, РГБ – Российская государственная библиотека, РГВИА – Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, РГИА – Российский государственный исторический архив, РФО – Религиозно-философское общество, СПФ АРАН

– Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива Российской академии наук, ЦГИА СПб. – Центральный государственный исторический архив Санкт-Петербурга.

⁷² См.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 7. Л. 279 об. (это включенный Каблуковым в его личный дневник «Список книгам <и прочим текстам>, прочитанным С<ергеем> П<латоновичем> Каблуковым в 1909 г<оду>»).

⁷³ Так в оригинале.

⁷⁴ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 5–5 об. (это письмо на визитной карточке Абрамовича (Фарбмана); текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

⁷⁵ Там же. Л. 7 (это письмо от 12 (25) августа 1909-го, на бланке «Пантеона»).

⁷⁶ Экземпляр листовки вклеен в личный дневник С. П. Каблукова рядом с записью от 11 (24) мая 1909-го (см.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 4. Л. 111).

⁷⁷ См.: <Толмачев М. В.>. Абрам Маркович Эфрос // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 32). С. 305; <Толмачев М. В.>. А<брам> М<аркович> Эфрос: Список науч., крит. и лит. работ: 1906–1954 // Эфрос А. М. Мастера разных эпох (см. примеч. 32). С. 309. Согласно позднему (1944 года) свидетельству самого Эфроса, «за участие в Моск<овском> восстании 1905 г<ода он> был арестован, сидел в Таганской тюрьме, <был> выпущен на поруки и бежал» (НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 4 об. (это служебная анкета МХАТ СССР имени Горького, заполненная Эфросом 10 ноября 1944-го); также см.: Там же. Л. 7 (это «Личный листок по учету кадров» КДИ при Совете министров Союза ССР, заполненный Эфросом 10 сентября 1949-го)).

⁷⁸ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 3 об.

⁷⁹ Там же. Л. 1.

⁸⁰ <Гусин В. П.>. Ю<лий> Айхенвальд. «Слова о словах». Критические статьи <...>: <Рец.> // Летопись (Пг.). 1917. Февр.–апр. № 2–4. С. 437 (подп.: Вяч. Полонский).

⁸¹ Айхенвальд Ю. <И.>. Песнь песней Соломона. Перевод с древне-еврейского и примечания А<брама> Эфроса. Предисловие В<асилия> Розанова <...>: <Рец.> // Русская мысль (М.). 1909. <Авг.>. Кн. VIII <(8)>. <Отд. 3>. С. 187.

⁸² Там же. С. 187.

⁸³ Айхенвальд Ю. <И.>. Отдельные страницы: Сб. пед., филос. и лит. статей. <Т.> II <(2)>. М.: Заря, 1910. С. 57.

⁸⁴ <Гальберштадт Л. И.>. Песнь Песней. Пер<евод> А<брама> Е. <(так в оригинале)> Эфроса. Вступит<ельная> статья В<асилия> В<асилия> Розанова <...>: <Рец.> // Северное сияние (М.). № 8. 1909. Июнь. С. 117 (подп.: Л. Г<альберштадт>).

⁸⁵ Кони написал в рецензии на перевод «Песни песней», выполненный В. Е. Яковлевым: «Так, например – в еврейском тексте (в переводе Эфроса) 2–3<-я> строки главы I читаются так “пусть целует меня поцелуями уст своих! ибо лучше вина твои ласки! запах приятный у масл твоих, елей изливаемый имя твоё: от того тебя девушки любят”. В русском переводе Библейского Общества: “О если бы целовал он меня поцелуями уст своих, потому что ласки твои лучше вина; – твои ласки приятны для обоняния, имя твоё мирровое масло, – за то девицы любят тебя”. В Синодальном переводе: “Да лобзает он меня лобзанием уст своих! ибо ласки твои лучше вина. От благовония масел твоих имя твоё как разлитое миро, поэтому девицы любят тебя”» (СПФ АРАН. Ф. 9 (Канц. II Отд-ния АН (ОРЯС) (1847–1927)). Оп. 3. Ед. хр. 24. Л. 93 (выделено Кони)).

⁸⁶ Айхенвальд Ю. <И.>. Песнь песней Соломона <...> // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 81). С. 187.

⁸⁷ Так в оригинале.

⁸⁸ <Гальберштадт Л. И.>. Песнь Песней <...> // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 84). С. 117.

⁸⁹ См.: <Н. а.>. Открытие русского отдела на лейпцигской выставке // Речь (СПб.). 1914. 15 (28) мая. № 130 (2 799). С. 3; Коральчик А. <Д.>. «Бугра» // Там же. 22 мая (4 июня). № 137 (2 806). С. 2; Левинсон Андрей <Я.>. Искусство на лейпцигской выставке // Там же. 6 (19)

июня. № 151 (2 820). С. 2; *Корганов В. Д.* Выставка книгопечатания и графического искусства в Лейпциге // Кавказ (Тифлис). 1914. 11 <(24)> июля. № 156. С. 3; Там же. 12 <(25)> июля. № 157. С. 3; <Н. а.>. Выставка «Образцовая книга» // Речь (СПб.). 1914. 4 (17) июля. № 179 (2 848). С. 3; *Крестьянинов Н.* <И.>. Лейпцигская выставка книжной промышленности: Статья // Известия книжных магазинов Т-ва М. О. Вольф по литературе, наукам и библиографии (СПб.). 1914. Июль. № 7. <Отд. 1>. Вестник литературы. Стб. 184–188; *Галактионов И. Д.* Международная выставка графики и печатного дела в Лейпциге: Докл. <...>, прочит. на Общ. Собр. Членов <О-ва служащих в печат. заведениях> 4 <(17)> окт. 1914 г. Пг., 1914; и др.

⁹⁰ См.: Каталог Русского отдела: Международ. выставка печат. дела и графики в Лейпциге 1914 <г.> / <Под ред. И. И. Лемана; худож. Г. И. (Е. И.) Нарбут>. <СПб.>, <1914>. С. 176. № 113.

⁹¹ См.: ОР ГРМ. Ф. 137 (А. Н. Бенуа). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 898. Л. 29 («“Песнь Песней”, при всех своих недостатках, несколько подходит, несколько отвечает сказанному»).

⁹² Там же. Л. 29.

⁹³ Так в оригинале. Имеется в виду ироническая поговорка: *aus der Not eine Tugend machen* (нем.) – делать из нужды добродетель.

⁹⁴ Так в оригинале.

⁹⁵ В оригинале всё так.

⁹⁶ *Bibelkritiker* (нем.) – критик Библии; здесь в значении: библеист.

⁹⁷ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «смо<жем>».

⁹⁸ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «вз<яли>».

⁹⁹ Так в оригинале.

¹⁰⁰ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «изобилие заставит».

¹⁰¹ Здесь автором письма оставлен пропуск, по-видимому – для какого-то забытого им термина.

¹⁰² Так в оригинале.

¹⁰³ Так в оригинале.

¹⁰⁴ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «пункты».

¹⁰⁵ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «вместе».

¹⁰⁶ Так в оригинале.

¹⁰⁷ Возможно, имеется в виду богослов и педагог Василий Васильевич Успенский (В. Бартенева, 1876–1930), преподававший в 1901–1905-м в Петербургской духовной академии, затем в других столичных учебных заведениях, печатавшийся в журнале «Новый путь», участвовавший в начале 1900-х в петербургских Религиозно-философских собраниях, затем в петербургском же РФО. О нем см.: <Мережковская З. Н.>. Дмитрий Мережковский / <Ред. и авт. примеч. В. А. Злобин>. Париж: YMCA-press, <1951>. С. 96, 113 (подп.: З. Гиппиус-Мережковская); и др.

¹⁰⁸ Так в оригинале.

¹⁰⁹ Так в оригинале.

¹¹⁰ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 21. Ед. хр. 15. Л. 1–1 об. (выделено автором письма, текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹¹¹ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «удивлены».

¹¹² В оригинале всё так.

¹¹³ Далее автором письма зачеркнуто «пол<ожение>».

¹¹⁴ Имеются в виду цветные орнаменты, украшающие страницы книги.

¹¹⁵ *Die Heilige Schrift* (нем.) – Священное писание. Здесь и далее автором письма перечислены библеисты, богословы, историки (главным образом немецкие) Цви Хирш (Генрих) Грец (Т. Н. (Н.) Graetz, 1817–1891), Эдуар Гийом Эжен Рейс (Е. Г. Е. Reuss, 1804–1891), Эмиль Фридрих Кауцш (Кауч) (Е. Ф. Kautzsch, 1841–1910), Вильгельм Новак (W. Nowack, 1850–1928).

¹¹⁶ Здесь и далее в оригинале так.

¹¹⁷ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «Novak<'a>».

¹¹⁸ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма: «не оч<ень>».

¹¹⁹ «Очень просим» дважды подчеркнуто другой рукой, возможно адресата.

¹²⁰ В оригинале всё так.

¹²¹ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма «сос<тавлению>».

¹²² «Энгеля торопите» дважды подчеркнуто другой рукой, возможно адресата.

¹²³ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 7. Л. 1–1 об. (выделено автором письма, текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹²⁴ См.: <Н. а.>. Книг<оиздательство> «Пантеон» <...>: <Рекл. объявл.> // Речь (СПб.). 1910. 20 февр. (5 марта). № 50 (1 288). С. 2 (это реклама новой книги, с указанием ее содержания и цены); ЦГИА СПб. Ф. 2 179 (Ройхели). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 14. Л. 1 (это недатированная заверенная Абрамовичем (Фарбманом) копия справки, данной сотрудником АО Типографского дела в С.-Петербурге («Герольд») А. И. Шутовым издательству «Пантеон» 4 (17) марта 1910-го, на бланке «Пантеона»: «Настоящим удостоверяем, что сего числа по всем счетам (считая последним счет за 2-ое издание Песнь Песней), от книгоиздательства “Пантеон” нами получено сполна»). В позднейшей (1948 года) автобиографии Эфрос сообщил: «Книга <“Песнь Песней Соломона”> выдержала одно за другим два издания в 1909 и 1910 гг<одах>» (НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 1).

¹²⁵ См.: Книжная летопись ГУДП (СПб.). 1910. 28 авг. <(10 сент.)>. № 34. С. 17. № 18 350 (издание названо в числе книг, поступивших в ГУДП с 18 (31) августа по 27 августа (9 сентября) 1910 года; его тираж был 2 100 экземпляров).

¹²⁶ См.: ОАД РНБ. Ф. 1 (ИПБ). Оп. 4. Ед. хр. 194. Л. 60. № 4 801 (это запись в 1-й книге «Реестра книгам, поступившим в <Императорскую Публичную> библиотеку за 1910 год»).

¹²⁷ См.: Мережковский Д. С. Гоголь: Творчество, жизнь и религия / <С дагерротип. портр. Н. В. Гоголя; худож. Г. И. (Е. И.) Нарбут и П. Н. Троянский>. СПб.: Пантеон, 1909. С. 233; Песнь Песней Соломона / Пер. с древнеевр. и примеч. А. <М.> Эфроса; предисл. В. <В.> Розанова; <с прил. статей Ф. Беттхера, К. К. Й. фон Бунзена, Й. В. фон Гете, Ф. К. Г. Делича, И. Э. Итцига (Ю. Э. Хитцига), Г. Карпелеса, З. И. Кемпфа, Э. Х. Майера, А. А. Олесницкого, Г. П. Павского, Е. Прокоповича (Феофана), Э. Ж. Ренана, Дж. Т. Сендерленда, Й. Г. фон Хердера, Й. (Ю. Д.) Энгеля, стихотворений В. Я. Брюсова, графа Д. П. Бутурлина, Я. Гитина, Г. Р. Державина, А. Е. Зарина, Л. А. Мея, А. С. Пушкина, С. М. Соловьева, К. М. Фофанова, С. Г. Фруга, Г. И. Чулкова, А. А. Шеншина (Фета), Л. Б. Яффе, нот Й. (Ю. Д.) Энгеля, факсимиле стихотворения А. С. Пушкина и библиогр.; изображ. материалы работы неустановл. худож. из изд. старин. евр. пергаментов барона Д. Г. Гинцбурга и В. В. Стасова «L'Ornement Hébreu»>. <Изд. 1-е>. СПб.: Пантеон, 1909. С. 271; Мережковский Д. С. М<ихаил> Ю<рьевич> Лермонтов: Поэт сверхчеловечества / <Худож. П. Н. Троянский>. <СПб.>: Пантеон, 1909. С. 90.

¹²⁸ НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 5 (это служебная анкета МХАТ СССР имени Горького, заполненная Эфросом 10 ноября 1944-го); также см.: Там же. Л. 6 (это «Личный листок по учету кадров» КДИ при Совете министров Союза ССР, заполненный Эфросом 10 сентября 1949-го).

¹²⁹ См.: Азадовский К. М., Лавров А. В. К истории издания «Аполлона»: Неосуществл. «нем.» вып. // Россия. Запад. Восток: Встреч. течения: К 100-летию со дня рождения акад. М. П. Алексеева: <Сб.> / <Отв. ред. Д. С. Лихачев>. СПб.: Наука, 1996. С. 203.

¹³⁰ Об этом и о некоторых других обстоятельствах подготовки и публикации русской версии книги Борхардта см.: Там же. С. 202–203, 206, 209–210; Азадовский К. М. Об Александре Элиасберге: (Штрихи к портр.) // Из истории символистской журналистики: «Весы»: <Сб.> / <Отв. ред. Д. А. Завельская, И. С. Приходько>. <СПб.>: указ.: М.: Наука, 2007. С. 166–168.

¹³¹ Далее зачеркнуто автором: «огра<ниченном>».

¹³² РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 2–2 об. (это недатированное (дата устанавливается по содержанию) письмо на бланке «Пантеона»; текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹³³ См. примеч. 67.

¹³⁴ *Борхардт Рудольф*. Книга Иорам / Пер. с нем. Александра <С.> Элиасберга; предисл. В. <В.> Розанова; <худож. Б. С. (Б. И.) Анисфельд>. СПб.: Пантеон, <1909; указ.: 1910>. С. 64.

¹³⁵ См.: Книжная летопись ГУДП (СПб.). 1909. 10 <(23)> окт. № 39. С. 3. № 19 414 (издание названо в числе книг, поступивших в ГУДП с 24 сентября (7 октября) по 8 (21) октября 1909 года; его тираж был 2 100 экземпляров). Также см.: ЦГИА СПб. Ф. 2 179 (Ройхели). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 12. Л. 2 (это подписанный Ройхелем счет на книги, выданные издательством А. М. Тумаркину, от 19 декабря 1909 (1 января 1910) года, на бланке «Пантеона»; кроме прочего, в нем указано и это издание).

¹³⁶ В экземпляре РНБ под шифром 38. 77. 4. 110 имеется пометка об этом.

¹³⁷ См. примеч. 164.

¹³⁸ <Н. а.>. Книгоиздательство «Пантеон» // Книжный вестник (СПб.). 1912. 9–16 <(22–29)> дек. № 49–50. С. XLV.

¹³⁹ *Черносвитова О. Н.* Материалы к биографии Федора Сологуба / Вступ. статья, публ. и коммент. М. М. Павловой // Неизданный Федор Сологуб: <Стихи. Документы. Мемуары>: <Сб.> / Под ред. М. М. Павловой и А. В. Лаврова. М.: Новое лит. обозрение, 1997. С. 239; также см.: Там же. С. 248, 251; *Павлова М. <М.>*. Писатель-инспектор: Федор Сологуб и Ф. К. Тетерников. М.: Новое лит. обозрение, 2007. С. 21–105 (по указ.).

¹⁴⁰ См.: *Юрьева Зоя <О.>*. Иннокентий Анненский о Гоголе // Новый журнал (Н.-Й.). Кн. XLV <(45)>. 1956. <Июнь>. С. 147.

¹⁴¹ См.: *Абашев В. В.* Урбанизм В<алерия> Я<ковлевича> Брюсова и натурфилософская лирика Ф<едора> И<вановича> Тютчева // Из истории русской литературы конца XIX – начала XX века: <Сб.> / Под ред. <и с предисл.> А. Г. Соколова, М. В. Михайловой. <М.>: Изд-во Моск. ун-та, 1988. С. 78–79.

¹⁴² *Аничков Евгений <В.>*. Бальмонт и «новые веяния» // Записки Неофилологического общества при Императорском С<анкт>-Петербургском Университете: <Сб.>. Вып. VII <(7)>. СПб.: <А. Э. Винеке>, 1914. С. 42.

¹⁴³ См.: *Иванов Вячеслав <И.>*. Андрей Белый. «Пепел» <...>: <Рец.> // Критическое обозрение (М.). 1909. Февр. Вып. II <(2)> <(XV (15))>. С. 47.

¹⁴⁴ См.: *Гумилев Н. <С.>*. Жизнь стиха // Аполлон (СПб.). № 7. 1910. Апр. <Отд. 1>. С. 5.

¹⁴⁵ *Ермилова Е. В.* Теория и образный мир русского символизма / Отв. ред. С. Г. Бочаров. М.: Наука, 1989. С. 158; также см.: Там же. С. 158–165.

¹⁴⁶ *Эткинд Е. <Г.>*. Там, внутри: О рус. поэзии XX в.: Очерки. <Павловск; указ.: СПб.>: Максима, <1996; указ.: 1997>. С. 60–61.

¹⁴⁷ Цит. по: ОР РНБ. Ф. 1 014 (Н. А. Соколов). Ед. хр. 76. Л. 17 (это выполненная Соколовым копия письма).

¹⁴⁸ См.: *Долгополов Л. К.* Поэмы Блока и русская поэма конца XIX – начала XX веков / <Отв. ред. К. Д. Муратова>. <Л.; указ.: М., Л.>: Наука, 1964. С. 77.

¹⁴⁹ Там же. С. 16, 25–35, 182.

¹⁵⁰ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 5–5 об. (это письмо на визитной карточке Абрамовича (Фарбмана); текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁵¹ Там же. Л. 7 (это письмо от 12 (25) августа 1909-го, на бланке «Пантеона»; текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации). Также см. примеч. 154.

¹⁵² РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 4 (это письмо на бланке «Пантеона»; выделено автором текста).

¹⁵³ Так в оригинале.

¹⁵⁴ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 7 (это письмо на бланке «Пантеона»; здесь и далее текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁵⁵ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 85.

¹⁵⁶ Хоровой дирижер, композитор и педагог Иван Яковлевич Тернов (1859–1925) был, кроме прочего, регентом Петербургского митрополичьего хора с 1893 года.

¹⁵⁷ Так в оригинале.

¹⁵⁸ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 3. Л. 105–106.

¹⁵⁹ Там же. Л. 107–108.

¹⁶⁰ Там же. Ед. хр. 6. Л. 212.

¹⁶¹ Далее зачеркнуто автором письма «в переводе».

¹⁶² НИОР РГБ. Ф. 589 (А. М. Эфрос). Карт. 10. Ед. хр. 7. Л. 1 об. (выделено автором письма, текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁶³ *Хазан Владимир <И.>*. Особенный еврейско-русский воздух (см. примеч. 37). С. 55.

¹⁶⁴ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 8 (это письмо на бланке «Пантеона»).

¹⁶⁵ См.: Книжная летопись ГУДП (СПб.). 1911. 10 <(23)> дек. № 49. С. 28. № 30 336 (издание названо в числе книг, поступивших в ГУДП с 1 (14) по 8 (21) декабря 1911 года; его тираж был 1 550 экземпляров).

¹⁶⁶ См.: ОАД РНБ. Ф. 1 (ИПБ). Оп. 4. Ед. хр. 205. Л. 33 об. № 35 306 (это запись в 4-й книге «Реестра книг, поступившим в <Императорскую Публичную> библиотеку за 1911 год»).

¹⁶⁷ См. владельческую датировку на экземпляре РНБ под шифром 20. 91. 8. 353-а.

¹⁶⁸ *Розанов В. В.* Библейская поэзия. СПб., <1911; указ.: 1912>. С. 40.

¹⁶⁹ Там же. С. 7 (выделено Розановым).

¹⁷⁰ Об издательской и цензурной истории этой книги см.: *Голлербах Эрих <Ф.>*. Встречи и впечатления (см. примеч. 15). С. 54, 69, 440, 446; *Николюкин А. Н.* Возвращенная книга // *Розанов В. В.* Собрание сочинений / Под общ. ред. А. Н. Николюкина. <Т. 3>. В темных религиозных лучах: Рус. церковь и др. статьи; В темных религ. лучах / <Сост. и коммент. А. Н. Николюкин и П. П. Апрышко; авт. послесл. А. Н. Николюкин>. М.: Республика, 1994. С. 439–442; и др.

¹⁷¹ Согласно недатированному, от конца 1905-го или начала 1906-го по содержанию, письму В. В. Розанова к С. Л. Франку, в период, следовавший непосредственно за императорским «конституционным» манифестом от 17 (30) октября 1905 года, Розанов предположил появление зарубежного издания Жуковского на российском рынке и попытался предотвратить дублирующую публикацию в «Полярной звезде»: «Многоуважаемый / Семен Людвигович! / Сегодня я получил в конверте со штемпелем “Полярная звезда” напечатанное предисловие к сборнику статей моих, предположенных к изданию в Берлине Д<митрием> Е<вгеньевичем> Жуковским. Его я не видел почти ½ года, и понятия не имею, что и как с этим сборником. Но если он <(сборник)> появится в Петербурге (при переменявшихся условиях цензуры), то само собою <получается>, что печатать в “Полярной звезде” статью, Вам мною посланную, нельзя, так как она входит в этот сборник. В таком случае не откажитесь мне ее вернуть <на адрес> – Шпалерная <улица>, д<ом> 39. Раньше или позже я Вам пришлю на место ее что-нибудь другое. Ваш В<асилий> Розанов. / Пишу на тот случай, что очевидно редакция “Полярной звезды” что-нибудь знает насчет сборника Жуковского. Сам я ничего не знаю. —» (АДП РНБ. Ф. 753 (П. Б. Струве). Ед. хр. 200. Л. 1–2 (выделено Розановым)).

¹⁷² 12 (25) сентября 1909-го Каблуков записал в личном дневнике: «Сегодня мне исполняется 28 лет (я род<ился> 12 <(24)> Сент<ября> 1881 г<ода>). Более половины жизни прожито

беззаконно и бледно. Боже! Милостив буди мне грешному!» (ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 173).

¹⁷³ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 154 (это недатированное письмо, полученное Каблуковым, согласно его пометке, 5 (18) сентября 1909-го; выделено Розановым).

¹⁷⁴ Там же. Ед. хр. 5. Л. 59 (это письмо, по-видимому, от 6 (19) июля 1909 года: согласно пометке адресата на нем, оно было получено им 7 (20) июля; выделено автором текста).

¹⁷⁵ То есть выкупить «В темных религиозных лучах» Розанова у Е. Я. Спешнева («председателя конкурсного учреждения по делам несостоятельного должника М. В. Пирожкова»).

¹⁷⁶ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 5. Л. 87–88.

¹⁷⁷ Розанов В. <В>. Русская Церковь: Дух. Судьба. Очарование и ничтожество. Главный вопрос / <Худож. П. Н. Троянский>. СПб., 1909. С. VII.

¹⁷⁸ Рукопись этого авторского дополнения С. П. Каблуков вклеил в свой дневник, пометив: «Автограф В<асилия> В<асильевича> Розанова, представляющий собою окончание статьи «Русская Церковь», написанный в конце августа <(середине сентября)> 1909 г<ода>» (ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 137–137 об.).

¹⁷⁹ С. П. Каблуков жил не позднее чем с 1903 года по соседству с типографией «Новое время» А. С. Суворина, его адрес был: Литейная часть, Эртелёв переулок, 11 (владение А. С. Суворина), квартира 20. Как и многие в столичной образованной среде, он отрицательно относился к консервативной газете «Новое время» и ее издателю; 20 февраля (5 марта) 1909-го, например, он записал в личном дневнике: «Сегодня в 7-ой гимназии обсуждался вопрос об отправлении поздравительной телеграммы изд<ателю> Н<ового> Вр<емени> мерзавцу Суворину <по случаю пятидесятилетия его литературной деятельности>. Я уклонился от обсуждения этого вопроса и теперь решил отправить в некоторые газеты 28-го февраля <(13 марта)> свое заявление, что в составлении и отправлении приветственной телеграммы А<лексею> С<ергеевичу> Суворину от С<анкт->П<етер>Б<ургской> 7-ой Гимназии я не нашел возможным принять участие. / Мой друг Андрей Николаевич Римский-Корсаков обещал присоединиться к моему заявлению» (ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 3. Л. 13; также см.: Там же. Л. 66–76). Однако Каблуков сотрудничал с суворинской типографией, готовя там некоторые публикации Розанова, а с октября 1909-го регулярно давал уроки математики отпрыску суворинской династии Г. М. Суворину, – до 30 декабря 1909-го (12 января 1910-го), когда тот отказался от занятий. Распоряжения Розанова Каблукову относительно цены на книгу и взаимоотношений с основанным в 1902 году столичным книжным магазином Ивана Ивановича Митюрникова (Литейная часть, Литейный проспект, 31), где было решено устроить склад «Русской церкви», см.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 154 (это недатированное письмо Розанова к Каблукову, полученное последним, согласно его пометке, 5 (18) сентября 1909-го).

¹⁸⁰ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 5. Л. 133 (текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁸¹ См. примеч. 177.

¹⁸² См. примеч. 186.

¹⁸³ Далее зачеркнуто автором: «Ничтожество и /».

¹⁸⁴ Весь подзаголовок, начиная со слова «Дух», отчеркнут автором правой объединяющей скобкой, дальнейший текст написан им же сбоку.

¹⁸⁵ Имеется в виду Тюрисева Эуряпяского уезда Выборгской губернии (станция Тюрисево Финляндской железной дороги, с октября 1948-го Ушково).

¹⁸⁶ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 37, 43 (письмо не датировано, было получено адресатом, согласно его пометке, 13 (26) августа 1909-го, после чего было вклеено в дневник; на обороте первого листа (см.: Там же. Л. 37 об.) Розановым вклеены пять разноцветных образцов

обложечного картона (см.: Там же. Л. 38–42), на первых трех – светло-коричневого, горчичного и желтого цветов – его надписи (соответственно): «хороша», «хороша» и «тоже оч^{<е>}нь» хороша»; последний образец впоследствии и был выбран окончательно; выделено Розановым).

¹⁸⁷ Там же. Л. 72, 73 об. (недатированное письмо вклеено адресатом в его дневник и помечено: «Это интересное письмо ко мне передано мне Розановым у И^{<льи>} Е^{<фимовича>} Репина <в «Пенатах» сегодня> с предисловием к “Р^{<усской>} Ц^{<еркви>}” и с афоризмом о “терроре”. 19 авг^{<уста (1 сентября)>} 1909 г^{<ода>}» (Там же. Л. 71 об.)).

¹⁸⁸ У Каблукова: «томом».

¹⁸⁹ Так в оригинале.

¹⁹⁰ См. примеч. 155–159.

¹⁹¹ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 85 (текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁹² Далее зачеркнуто автором: «Уничи^{<жение>}».

¹⁹³ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 116 (это письмо также вклеено адресатом в его дневник и помечено: «Получено 28.VIII <(10 сентября) 19>09 <года> в ответ на мое письмо от 22-го авг^{<уста (4 сентября)>} по поводу письма Вас^{<илия>} Вас^{<ильевича>}, переданного у Репина <...>. Ответ отправлен 29 авг^{<уста (11 сентября)>} 19>09 г^{<ода>}. / С^{<ергей>} Каблук^{<ов>}» (ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 116); выделено Розановым).

¹⁹⁴ Петр Николаевич Троянский (1872–1923) был сыном чиновника Минской губернии, служил в 1890-х годах в 185-м пехотном резервном Лидском полку (имел там в 1893-м звание подпрапорщика; см.: РГВИА. Ф. 400 (Глав. штаб (1865–1918)). Оп. 9. Ед. хр. 27 834), впоследствии – в Генеральном штабе, был прикомандирован в 1904–1905 годах к восьмому отделению Главного управления казачьих войск Военного министерства (гражданскому, ведавшему войсковыми, областными, хозяйственными правлениями, полицией, пожарными командами, страхованием, продажей питий, постройкой общественных зданий, сметами расходов и доходов), имел звания поручика, с 1904-го – штабс-капитана, с 1906-го – капитана в отставке; он был также учеником И. (О. Э.) Бразы, в 1905–1906-м – автором «Жупела» С. П. Юрицына, «Сигнала» Н. В. Корнейчукова (К. И. Чуковского) и других оппозиционных иллюстрированных изданий, затем – постоянным карикатуристом столичного сатирического еженедельника «Серый волк» А. А. Суворина. Кроме того, Троянский числился в 1906-м редактором фактически руководившегося Гржебиным журнала «Адская почта» (см.: ОР РНБ. Ф. 634 (А. М. Ремизов). Ед. хр. 97. Л. I (это рекламная листовка журнала); *Боцяновский В. <Ф.>*. Русская сатира первой революции // Русская сатира первой революции: 1905–1906: <Сб.> / Сост. В. <Ф.> Боцяновский и Э. <Ф.> Голлербах; <авт. предисл. В. А. Десницкий (Строев)>. Л.: Гос. изд-во, 1925. С. 41, 51, 121, 123–124, 134; *Привалов В. Д.* Сатирическая печать первой русской революции: (По период. изданиям Петербурга) // Старый Петербург: Поиски, находки, открытия: Сб. статей / <Сост. и ред. Е. И. Краснова>. СПб.: <На страже Родины; Гос. музей истории СПб.>, 2009. С. 345–346; и др.), будучи в действительности в чистом виде «редактором-предохранителем»: коллеги даже не включили его в состав редакционного комитета «Адской почты» (см.: НИОР РГБ. Ф. 386 (В. Я. Брюсов). Карт. 84. Ед. хр. 1. Л. 3 об. (это недатированное, от 15 (28) апреля 1906-го по почтовым штемпелям на конверте (Там же. Л. 33–33 об.), письмо Гржебина к Брюсову, с перечислением членов комитета)).

¹⁹⁵ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 133 (это открытка, вклеенная адресатом в его дневник; текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁹⁶ Там же. Л. 169 (письмо вклеено адресатом в его дневник; текст приведен с исправлением пунктуации).

¹⁹⁷ Имеется в виду Розанов.

¹⁹⁸ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 6. Л. 170.

- ¹⁹⁹ Так в оригинале.
- ²⁰⁰ Далее зачеркнуто автором: «у меня».
- ²⁰¹ РГАЛИ. Ф. 419 (В. В. Розанов). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 999. Л. 1 (это недатированное, от сентября 1909-го по содержанию, письмо, на бланке «Пантеона»).
- ²⁰² Там же. Л. 1 об.
- ²⁰³ Там же. Ед. хр. 674. Л. 3.
- ²⁰⁴ Имеется в виду З. Н. Мережковская (Гиппиус).
- ²⁰⁵ Имеется в виду И. И. Митюрников (см. примеч. 179).
- ²⁰⁶ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 7. Л. 27–28 (письмо не датировано, вклеено адресатом в его личный дневник с пометкой: «Получено 3 <(16)>. Х. <19>09 г<ода>» (Там же. Л. 27); выделено Розановым).
- ²⁰⁷ Там же. Л. 270 (выделено автором текста).
- ²⁰⁸ В самой книге указано: «Окончена печатанием 12 <(25)> сентября 1909 года в типографии А<лексея> С<ергеевича> Суворина» (Розанов В. <В.>. Русская Церковь (см. примеч. 177). С. 40). Также см.: Книжная летопись ГУДП (СПб.). 1909. 10 <(23)> окт. № 39. С. 18. № 20 427 (издание названо в числе книг, поступивших в ГУДП с 8 (21) по 15 (28) октября 1909 года).
- ²⁰⁹ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 7. Л. 29 (иллюстрируя эту запись, Каблуков вклеил в дневник (Там же. Л. 33–40) часть поправленных им корректурных оттисков «Русской церкви» с отмеченными фрагментами, наведшими его на «догадки» о причинах ареста издания).
- ²¹⁰ Так в оригинале.
- ²¹¹ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 7. Л. 45 (упомянуты публикации: Мережковский Д. <С.>. Конь бледный <Б. В. Савинкова (В. Ропшина)> // Речь (СПб.). 1909. 27 сент. (10 окт.). № 265 (1 145). С. 2; Там же. 28 сент. (11 окт.). № 266 (1 146). С. 2; Мережковский Д. <С.>. Царство Глеба // Там же. 11 (24) окт. № 279 (1 159). С. 2; также см. вклеенный в дневник Каблукова ответ Знаменского на подарки, от 12 (25) октября 1909-го: «Дорогой Сергей Платонович, очень благодарен Вам за присланные статьи и в особенности за припасенную мне книгу Р<озанова>. Для меня не столько ценно приобретение этой книги, сколько дорого то Ваше внимание, которым я до сих <пор> незаслуженно пользуюсь. / Любящий Вас Д<митрий> Знамен<ский>» (ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 7. Л. 49 об.)).
- ²¹² ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 7. Л. 71.
- ²¹³ Там же. Л. 49–50.
- ²¹⁴ См.: <Н. а.>. Хроника // Речь (СПб.). 1910. 9 (22) янв. № 8 (1 246). С. 5.
- ²¹⁵ ОР РНБ. Ф. 322 (С. П. Каблуков). Ед. хр. 8. Л. 82, 85.
- ²¹⁶ См.: ОАД РНБ. Ф. 2 (РПБ, ГПБ, РНБ). Оп. 2. Ед. хр. 211. Л. 134 об. № 22 123 (это запись во 2-й книге «Реестра книгам, поступившим в <Императорскую Публичную> библиотеку за 1912 год»). Также см.: Николюкин А. Н. Возвращенная книга // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 170). С. 439–440.
- ²¹⁷ Организационную и финансовую помощь Гржебиным оказывал при этом Н. А. Рубакин (см.: НИОР РГБ. Ф. 358 (Н. А. Рубакин). Карт. 221. Ед. хр. 44. Л. 1–4 об. (это письма Гржебина к Рубакину, от июля и августа 1912-го); Там же. Л. 6 (это письмо Гржебина к секретарю Рубакина М. А. Бейлкину (Белкину), от августа 1912-го); Там же. Л. 7 (это недатированное (от августа 1912-го по содержанию) письмо В. П. Максимовой к тому же адресату); Там же. Карт. 170. Ед. хр. 21. Л. 1–2 (это черновик письма Рубакина к Гржебину, от 13 (26) августа 1912-го); Там же. Карт. 221. Ед. хр. 45. Л. 3–5 об. (это письма М. К. Гржебиной (Дориомедовой) к Рубакину, от сентября 1912-го)).
- ²¹⁸ В этот период он попытался осуществить некоторые из своих прежних замыслов, не реализованных в «Пантеоне». Например, обильно иллюстрированное издание графа Л. Н. Толстого (см.: ОР ГРМ. Ф. 106 (Д. Н. Кардовский). Ед. хр. 27. Л. 1–1 об. (это письмо Гржебина к

Кардовскому, от 23 октября (5 ноября) 1913 года, на бланке главной конторы АО издательского и печатного дела в Петербурге «Издательское дело, бывшее Брокгауз и Ефрон»)).

²¹⁹ См.: РГИА. Ф. 776 (ГУДП МВД). Оп. 10. Ед. хр. 1 526. Л. 1 (это копия свидетельства на выпуск в свет журнала «Новый шиповник», выданного помощником петроградского градоначальника В. В. Лысогорским Гржебину, от 2 (15) июля 1914-го).

²²⁰ Первый номер журнала вышел в свет 2 (15) ноября 1914-го, до конца года вышли семь номеров, в течение 1915-го – еще шестнадцать. Под этой маркой Гржебиным было издано с декабря 1914-го по июль (август) 1915-го несколько книг – Л. Н. Андреева, А. А. Блока, А. С. Гриневского (А. Грина), А. М. Ремизова, Ф. К. Тетерникова (Ф. Сологуба).

²²¹ Летопись литературных событий в России конца XIX – начала XX в<еков> (1891 – октябрь 1917) / <Общ. ред. А. В. Лавров>. Вып. 3. 1911 – октябрь 1917 / <Ред.-сост. М. Г. Петрова>. М.: ИМЛИ РАН, 2005. С. 490.

²²² С ноября 1916 года это учреждение именовалось Англо-русская комиссия (или, иначе, Англо-русский комитет). В сентябре 1916-го в столичной печати было сообщено об открытии этого бюро: «Ввиду заметно растущей потребности русского общества в точных сведениях о ходе событий в союзной Англии и об участии Англии в мировой войне, в Петрограде учреждено, при содействии великобританского посольства, англо-русское бюро. Цель бюро – предоставлять общественным деятелям и печати возможность получать из первого источника достоверный материал, касающийся действий английского флота и английской армии и крупнейших явлений общественной жизни Британской империи. При бюро имеется библиотека новейших английских книг, относящихся к войне, получают все главные английские газеты и журналы» (<Н. а.>. Англо-русское бюро // Новое время (Пг.). 1916. 1 (14) сент. № 14 544. С. 3). К. А. Сомов записал в личном дневнике 17 (30) октября 1916-го: «Утром письмо от Гржебина, просящее объяснить<ся> (<относительно публичного отказа Сомова накануне при встрече поздороваться с ним>). Я ему в телефон объяснил. Разговор с Вальполем, – я орудие гибели планов Гржебина пристроиться в Англо-русс<кой> конт<б>ре и освободить<ся> от воин<ской> повинности. Мне это противно, быть судьей, но, с другой стороны, дело очень серьезно, т<ак> к<ак> через его руки должны были бы проходить большие суммы, и В<альполь>, зная, кто он, не может его рекомендовать после» (ОР ГРМ. Ф. 133 (К. А. Сомов). Ед. хр. 113. Л. 57 об.–58 об.; здесь и далее упомянуты интимный приятель Сомова британский прозаик, драматург, литературный и художественный критик, литературовед, общественный деятель, впоследствии также мемуарист Хью Сеймур Уолпол (русифицированная форма Гуго Вальполь) (H. S. Walpole, 1884–1941), бывший в 1914–1916-м представителем Красного Креста в России, и новозеландско-британский журналист, прозаик, лингвист, общественный деятель, впоследствии также мемуарист Харолд Уильямс (русифицированная форма Гарольд Васильевич Вильямс) (H. Williams, 1876–1928), бывший с 1904-го по 1918-й корреспондентом лондонской газеты «The Times» и некоторых других периодических изданий в Петербурге (Петрограде), с 21 ноября (4 декабря) 1916-го – также членом комитета Русско-английского общества). 18 (31) октября Сомов описал развитие этого сюжета: «Гржебин сочинил Williams’у целую историю. Будто фальшивую подпись сделал не он, а артельщик – Онуфрий. Чтобы спасти его, он взял на себя вину (и заплати<л> мне свои – ? – деньги). Вильям<с>, чистая душа, верит ему. Постройка наглого Гр<жебина> не держится на ногах: как мог Онуфрий знать мою подпись, которую Гр<жебин> легко мог списать с одного из моих ответов на его деловые письма ко мне» (Там же. Л. 60–60 об.). Гржебин, однако, сумел отчасти поправить ситуацию, и уже 19 октября (1 ноября) Сомов зафиксировал финал истории: «Копельман написал мне письмо, в котором сообщает, что подложная подпись на кассов<ом> ордере была сделан<а> не Гржебиным и что тут недоразумение. Также я получил оправдательное письмо от самого Гржебина. Я, конечно, не верю в невинность его, но, тем не мене<е>, вызванный к телефону Гржеб<иным>, я ему сказал, что считаю инцидент межд<у>

нами исчерпанным в удовлетвор<ительном> для него, Гржеб<ина>, смысле. Я его только считаю ловким мошенником» (Там же. Л. 62–62 об.).

²²³ Утвержденной исполнительным комитетом Петроградского совета рабочих депутатов, затем признанной Временным правительством и преобразованной в Особое совещание по делам искусств при комиссаре Временного правительства по делам бывшего Министерства Императорского двора и уделов.

²²⁴ «Созданном после Февральской революции для координации деятельности и помощи социалистической прессе», но отличившемся главным образом получившей скандальную огласку аферой с предназначавшейся «социалистической прессе» бумагой, которая была продана председателем «по вольной цене» (*Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 404, 416, 420).

²²⁵ Это предприятие было организовано Горьким, И. П. Ладыжниковым и А. Н. Тихоновым (Серебровым) весной 1915 года как издательское «товарищество на вере» и существовало до декабря 1918-го. Гржебин участвовал в его работе с конца 1916-го (он был там штатным сотрудником и ведал «преимущественно издательскими делами»).

²²⁶ «Большая ежедневная социал-демократическая газета» «Новая жизнь» выходила с 18 апреля (1 мая) 1917 года по июль 1918-го в Петрограде (летом 1918-го – также в Москве). Она была организована группой социал-демократов (меньшевиков-интернационалистов) и авторов журнала Тихонова (Сереброва) «Летопись». В сентябре 1917-го вместо «Новой жизни», закрытой Временным правительством, выходила газета «Свободная жизнь». Горький сообщил Ленину о Гржебине в июле 1921-го: «“Новая Жизнь” и многие другие литературные дела обязаны своим техническим и коммерческим успехом исключительно ему» (Возвращаясь к имени Зиновия Исаевича Гржебина // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 10). С. 309; *Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 416). В 1920-х Гржебин предлагал Горькому возобновить издание «Новой жизни» в Париже (см.: *Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 427).

²²⁷ Последнее, созданное к сентябрю 1918 года в Петрограде, фактически повторяло (с некоторыми вариациями) концепцию «Пантеона», но при этом было фактически государственным предприятием (формально в период организации – издательским товариществом Горького, Гржебина, Ладыжникова и Тихонова (Сереброва) при Наркомпросе РСФСР; уже вскоре оно официально стало составной частью Государственного издательства). Во «Всемирной литературе» Гржебин был «заведующим производственно-издательским отделом» (*Вайнберг Иосиф <И.>*. «Всё будет оценено – не может быть иначе» // Евреи в культуре Русского Зарубежья: Сб. статей, публ., мемуаров и эссе: 1919–1939 гг. Вып. I <(1)> / Сост. М. <А.> Пархомовский; <общ. ред. М. А. Пархомовский и Л. И. Юниверг>. Иерусалим: М. <А.> Пархомовский, 1992. С. 172) или – наряду с Горьким, Ладыжниковым и Тихоновым (Серебровым) – «членом коллегии» и «заведующим издательством» (<Н. а.>. Издательство «Всемирной литературы» // Вестник литературы (Пг.). 1919. Март. № 3. С. 11; Каталог издательства «Всемирная литература» при Народном комиссариате по просвещению / Вступ. статья М. Горького <(А. М. Пешкова)>. <Пг.; указ.: Пб.>: <Всемир. лит.>, 1919. С. 167; <Шамиссо де Бонкур Л. Ш. А.>. Чудесная история Петера Шлемиля / Под ред. и с предисл. Ф. <(Ф. А.)> Брауна; <худож. А. Н. Лео>. <Пг.; указ.: Пб.>: Всемир. лит., 1919. С. 85 (подп.: А. фон-Шамиссо)). Многие «невероятные планы» этого «самого большого в мире» издательского предприятия, определявшегося трезво мыслящими современниками как «вавилонская башня» (*Оцун Николай <А.>*. Океан времени: Стихотворения; дневник в стихах; статьи и воспоминания о писателях. <Изд. 2-е> / <Сост., авт. вступ. статьи и подгот. текста Л. М. П. Аллен; авт. коммент. Р. Д. Тименчик>. СПб.: Logos, 1994. С. 519, 584–585), остались, как и планы «Пантеона», не реализованными.

²²⁸ *Косинец Н. Е.* П<етр Федорович> Охрименко – переводчик английской и американской литературы: (Из истории зарубеж. кн. связей СССР в 1920–1930-е гг.) // Из истории русско-

советского международного книжного общения: (XIX–XX вв.): Межвуз. сб. / <Отв. ред. И. Е. Баренбаум>. Л.: <Ленингр. ун-т>, 1987. С. 88–89, 100.

²²⁹ Несколько книг «Гиперборея» периода «военного коммунизма» вышли благодаря финансовому участию Гржебина (см.: *Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 417; и др.).

²³⁰ В переводе Н. С. Гумилева и с предисловием В. К. Шилейко.

²³¹ *Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 417–418; также см.: Там же. С. 422.

²³² *Глинттерник Э. М.* Издательство «Шиповник» и русская художественная культура Серебряного века // Книга и мировая цивилизация: Материалы 11-й междунар. науч. конф. по проблемам книговедения. Москва, 20–21 апр. 2004 г.: <Сб.>: В 4 т. / <Отв. ред. В. И. Васильев, Б. В. Ленский; сост. В. И. Васильев, М. А. Ермолаева, А. Ю. Самарин; ред. Н. Д. Александрова, Д. Н. Бакун, И. Н. Тарасенко>. Т. 1. М.: Наука, 2004. С. 291.

²³³ *Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 401.

²³⁴ *Зайцев Борис <К.>*. Собрание сочинений. <Т. 6 (доп.)> (см. примеч. 37). С. 321–322.

²³⁵ См.: *Динерштейн Е. А.* Российское книгоиздание (см. примеч. 10). С. 402–409, 418–420.

²³⁶ См.: ЦГИА СПб. Ф. 2 179 (Ройхели). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 9. Л. 5 (это расписка, данная Абрамовичем (Фарбманом) Ройхелю, от 18 ноября (1 декабря) 1910 года, на бланке петербургского отделения Конторы О. И. Бунимовича). Названное предприятие было постоянным контрагентом петербургских предприятий «Издательское дело, бывшее Брокгауз и Ефрон» и «Шиповник», московских «Гросман и Кнебель» и «П. Юргенсон», варшавских «Э. Венде и Ко.», «Гебетнер и Вольф», «С. Оргельбранда сыновья» и «Г. Центнершвер и Ко.», лейпцигского «Ф. А. Брокгауз», имело петербургское отделение (в 1910-м – Казанская часть, Большая Конюшенная улица, 17), а также отделения в Варшаве, Гродно, Киеве, Ковно, Лодзи, Люблине, Одессе, Саратове, Смоленске, Тифлисе, Харькове (см.: ЦГИА СПб. Ф. 2 179 (Ройхели). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 9. Л. 4–18 об. (это разные бланки Конторы О. И. Бунимовича, от 1910–1911 годов); <Н. а.>. Контора О<всея> И<зраилевича> Бунимовича: <Рекл. объявл.> // Северо-западный голос (Вильна). 1909. 2 (15) окт. № 1 165. С. 4; и др.).

²³⁷ Это был первый выпуск объявленной многотомной «Энциклопедии искусств в иллюстрированных монографиях»; предполагалось, что после ряда томов, посвященных итальянскому Ренессансу (вторым выпуском данного цикла должна была стать «уже печатающаяся» монография «Скульптура раннего Ренессанса», третьим – также «печатающаяся» «Живопись раннего Ренессанса»), будут выпускаться тома, посвященные искусству России (см.: <Абрамович Г.>. Архитектура Итальянского Ренессанса / С 41 ил. в тексте и 1 табл. на отдел. л. СПб.: <Грядущий день>, 1914. С. V, 4-я с. обл. (подп.: М. Фарбман)). Однако дальнейшей реализации этого проекта помешало начало Первой мировой войны.

²³⁸ См.: РО ИРЛИ. Р. III. Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 2 об. Л. 1–2 об. (это письмо Абрамовича (Фарбмана) к И. Р. Кугелю, от 17 (30) октября 1914 года, о некоторых деталях его пребывания в Стокгольме и сотрудничества с разными периодическими изданиями; кроме прочего, здесь сообщено: «<...> Один мой знакомый журналист швед, бывший секретарь Общества иностранных журналистов в Берлине, ввел меня во все здешние газеты, и меня сразу приняли не только хорошо как журналиста, но <и> как приятеля. Достаточно Вам сказать, что Редактор Aftonbladet D<okto>r Hellkvist мне дает бесплатно уроки шведского языка. Я буду получать <с понедельника> гранки трех больших здешних газет (наиболее расположенных к союзникам и к России). А так как мой секретарь сотрудник самой большой здешней газеты Dagens Nyheter, то я буду по телефону получать все телеграммы. Далее, так как Dagens Nyheter обменивается всем своим политическим материалом по телефону с Датской Газетой Politiken, то я буду иметь и весь этот материал раньше, чем газета выйдет в Копенгагене. / Кроме этого, я заручился разрешением телеграфировать по-русски латинскими буквами. Это, конечно, имеет свои

большие преимущества. Одно из них то, что, составляя письма по-русски, можно легко соединять слова и выгадывать на тарифе. / <...> Я не сомневаюсь, что мне удастся посылать телеграммы коротко, ясно и давать только самое существенное и *опережая* копенгагенские известия. / Я теперь здесь вращаюсь в среде журналистов, занимающих наиболее видное место в скандинавской прессе. Я буду пользоваться их советами и указаниями. / Для Dagens Nyheter я напишу статью о 50-летию Судебных Уставов в России (20 Ноября ст<арого> ст<иля>) и вообще я буду в форме любезности сообщать им о значительных культурных явлениях в России. Это <будет> ответ за те любезности и помощь, какие мне оказывает главный редактор D<okto>r Karlgren» (выделено автором текста)); Там же. Ед. хр. 2 об. Л. 1 (это письмо Абрамовича (Фарбмана) к тому же корреспонденту, от 1 (14) ноября 1914-го; год установлен по содержанию и процитированному выше предыдущему письму).

²³⁹ См.: Купченко В. П. Труды и дни Максимилиана Волошина: Летопись жизни и творчества. <Т. 1>. 1877–1916. СПб.: Алетейя, <2001; указ.: 2002>. С. 393, 486; <Н. а.>. Фарбман М<ихаил> С<еменович> // Российская еврейская энциклопедия / Гл. ред. Г. Г. Брановер. Биографии: <В 3 т.>. Изд. 2-е, испр. и доп. Т. 3. М.: РАЕН; Науч. фонд «Евр. энциклопедия»; ЭПОС, 1997. С. 196. В этот период Абрамович (Фарбман) пытался заниматься также литературными переводами и книгоизданием, – при содействии Гржебина. Последний написал 20 апреля (3 мая) 1916 года А. Г. Достоевской (Сниткиной): «Милостивая Государыня Анна Григорьевна, / Из Лондона обратились ко мне корресп<ондент> Бирж<евых> Ведом<остей> М<ихаил> С<еменович> Фарбман и переводчик Копелянский <(примечание Гржебина: «Перевел Куприна, Мережковского и др<угих>»)> с просьбой устроить им возможность перевода на англ<ийский> яз<ык> Вашу работу <(так в оригинале)>, о которой А<лександр> А<лексеевич> Измайлов писал в “Биржев<ых> Ведомостях”. А<лександр> А<лексеевич> Измайлов советовал мне списаться непосредственно с Вами, указав на него. / Буду Вам очень признателен, если сообщите мне, желаете ли Вы, чтобы Ваша работа была переведена на Английский язык, и <каковы> Ваши условия. Перевод должен быть сделан с рукописи и появит<ь>ся в свет одновременно с русской книгой. С<о> своей стороны переводчики предлагают за каждое издание в 2 000 экз<емпляров> 20 фунтов (на наши деньги приблизительно руб<лей> 300). / Примите уверение в совершенном уважении / З<иновий> Гржебин» (НИОР РГБ. Ф. 93-II (Ф. М. Достоевский). Карт. 2. Ед. хр. 117. Л. 1). 7 (20) июля 1917 года Абрамович (Фарбман) выступил с лекцией «Русская революция и война» в британском Национальном совете по гражданским свободам, – текст которой тогда же был выпущен отдельным изданием (см.: <Abramovich G.>. The Russian Revolution & the War. London: Headley bros. publ., ltd.; National council for civil liberties, 1917 (подп.: Michael Farbman); также см.: <Abramovich G.>. Russia & the Struggle for Peace. London: G. Allen & Unwin, ltd., <1918> (подп.: Michael S. Farbman)).

²⁴⁰ В этом качестве он, в частности, брал интервью у руководителей советского государства: 24 сентября 1920 года – у Л. Д. Бронштейна (Троцкого) (см.: <Бронштейн Л. Д.>. Сочинения. Сер. V <(5)>. На пути к социализму. Т. XVII <(17)>. Советская республика и капиталистический мир. Ч. II <(2)>. Гражданская война. <М.; указ.: М., Л.>: Гос. изд-во, 1926. С. 463–465), в декабре 1920-го – у Л. Б. Красина (см.: Документы внешней политики СССР: <Сб.>. <Т. 3. 1 июля 1920 г. – 18 марта 1921 г.> / <Ред. Г. А. Белов, Е. С. Гармаш, С. М. Майоров, А. Ф. Миллер, И. В. Садчиков, А. А. Стручков>. <Л.; указ.: М.>: Гос. изд-во полит. лит., 1959. С. 376–378), 27 октября 1922-го – у Ленина (см.: <Ульянов В. И.>. Полное собрание сочинений. Изд. 5-е. Т. 45. Март 1922 – март 1923 <гг.> / <Подгот. к печати Н. Н. Суровцева, Л. А. Кашницкая, М. И. Труш, Н. А. Амплеев, В. П. Кукушкина, Е. Ф. Полковникова и др.>. <Л.; указ.: М.>: Изд-во полит. лит., 1964. С. 237–244 (подп.: В. И. Ленин)).

²⁴¹ См.: РГАЛИ. Ф. 2 618 (Ю. П. Анненков). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 32. Л. 1–1 об. (это письмо Абрамовича (Фарбмана) к Анненкову, от 5 сентября 1922 года, из Лондона); ОР ГРМ. Ф. 137 (А. Н. Бенуа). Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 898. Л. 59–59 об. (это недатированное, от лета или осени 1922

года по содержанию, письмо Гржебина к Бенуа, на бланке «Издательства З. И. Гржебина»); <Абрамович Г.>. Страничка из истории интервенции: (Воспоминания журналиста) // Красная новь (М.). <1924>. Авг.–сент. № 5 (22). С. 198–214 (подп.: М. С. Фарбман; текст датирован «Берлин / 10 марта 1923 г<ода>» и снабжен примечанием редакции «Красной нови»: «Предлагаемая читателю статья написана американским <(так в оригинале)> журналистом новожиизненского толка. Фарбман был за границей одним из главных организаторов борьбы против интервенции» (<Абрамович Г.>. Страничка из истории интервенции // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 241). С. 198, 214)); Grjebine Hélène <Z.>. The Publisher Zinovii Isaevich Grzhebin: A Documentary Memoir / <Introd. by Richard Davies> // Solanus (London). New series. Vol. 1. 1987. P. 39; Зиновий Гржебин и Максим Горький: (Из истории послереволюц. издат. деятельности З. И. Гржебина) / Предисл. <и публ. фрагментов очерка «З. И. Гржебин – издатель: По документам и воспоминаниям его дочери» Е. З. Гржебиной> Л. <И.> Юниверга // Евреи в культуре Русского Зарубежья. Вып. I <(I)> (см. примеч. 227). С. 144; <Н. а.>. Фарбман М<ихаил> С<еменович> // Указ. источник (см. примеч. 239). С. 196; Янгиров Рашид <М.>. Из истории русской зарубежной печати и книгоиздательства 1920-х годов: (По новым материалам) // Диаспора: Новые материалы: <Сб.> / <Отв. ред. О. А. Коростелев; ред.-изд. Т. Б. Притыкина>. <Вып.> VI <(6)>. <СПб.; указ.: Париж, СПб.>: Athenaeum; Феникс, 2004. С. 570–571; Незабытые могилы: Рос. зарубежье: Некрологи 1917–2001 <гг.>: В 6 т. / Сост. В. Н. Чуваков; <ред. Е. В. Макаревич>. Т. 6. Кн. 2. <Тула; указ.: М.>: <РГБ>, <Пашков дом>, 2006. С. 581. Уже посмертно Абрамович (Фарбман) был обвинен в троцкизме и шпионаже против СССР на судебном процессе над «антисоветским правотроцкистским блоком», состоявшемся в Октябрьском (Колонном) зале московского Дома союзов (бывшего Дворянского собрания) со 2 по 13 марта 1938 года. Подсудимый А. П. Розенгольц заявил допрашивавшему его государственному обвинителю прокурору А. Я. Вышинскому на вечернем заседании 4 марта: «Я должен также сообщить, хотя об этом я показывал на предварительном следствии, о том, что мной в 1926 году были даны сведения Фарбману – английскому журналисту, который в то же время являлся троцкистом. Эти сведения касались внешней политики СССР. После этого в период 1932–1935 годов давал сведения приезжавшему от его имени редактору англо-русского журнала Тальботу <(то есть учредителю лондонско-московского «The Anglo-Russian Trade Agency» («Русско-английского торгового агентства») и издателю первоначально лондонского, затем московского ежемесячного «The Anglo-Russian Journal of Engineering, Industries, and Trade» («Русско-английского журнала торговли, промышленности и инженерного дела», 1903), петроградского ежемесячника «Русско-британское время» (1915–1917; совместно с братьями Б. А. и М. А. Суворинными) и лондонского еженедельника «The Russian Outlook» (1919–1920) Стаффорду Сесилу Талботу (Тальботу) (S. C. Talbot, 1880 – не ранее 1935?))> о заказах по внешней торговле» (Судебный отчет: <Материалы Воен. коллегии Верх. Суда СССР> / <Авт. вступ. заметки С. И. Алиханов>. М.: <Междунар. семья>, 1997. С. 230). Подсудимый Х. Г. Раковский дополнил эти показания на утреннем заседании 5 марта: «Троцкий согласился с тем, чтобы войти в связь с английской разведкой, благословил, так сказать, меня на это дело, оговаривая, что нужно быть осторожнее, что нужно еще выявить, что они могут дать для троцкизма. Возвратившись в Лондон, я вскоре был вызван к одному официальному лицу, которое мне подтвердило, что данное “Интеллидженс Сервис” предложение действительно санкционировано. В свою очередь Армстронг и Локкарт <(то есть известный Роберт Хэмилтон Брус Локкарт (R. H. B. Lockhart, 1887–1970))> заявили, что агентом связи между мной и ими будет журналист Фарбман. К этому делу в качестве агентов связи я привлек, завербовал еще двух сотрудников полпредства. Это произошло уже в начале 1925 года. Перед отъездом из Лондона я успел передать документ – оценку советской политики в Среднеазиатских национальных республиках, с точки зрения человека, который желает поддержать враждебное отношение к СССР. В октябре того же 1925 года я был переведен полпредом в Париж. Держать непосредственную связь с “Интеллидженс Сервис” мне в этом положении было трудно. / И когда ко мне явился снова Фарбман, то, посоветовавшись с ним, решили привлечь к непосредственному обслуживанию “Интеллидженс

Сервис» <Б. (П. Г.)> Мдивани» (Там же. С. 266–267). Также см.: Минаев В. <Н.>. Подрывная деятельность иностранных разведок в СССР / Под ред. И. <И.> Ерухимовича <(Ермашева)>. Ч. 1. <Л.; указ.: М.>: Воен. Изд-во Нар. Комиссариата Обороны Союза ССР, 1940. С. 119 («Агентом для связи Раковского с “Интеллидженс сервис” в Лондоне являлся английский буржуазный журналист Фарбман»); Минаев В. <Н.>. Разведка и контрразведка Великобритании. <Л.; указ.: М.>: Воен. изд-во Нар. комиссариата обороны Союза ССР, 1941. С. 105 («Примером работы по совместительству в двух крупнейших английских газетах и в “Интеллидженс сервис” является известный в Лондоне журналист Фарбман. Как выяснилось на процессе антисоветского “право-троцкистского блока”, этот “журналист” служил агентом связи между английской разведкой и предателем Раковским. / Вероятно, и в 1922 г<оду> Фарбман в качестве корреспондента газет “Обсервер” и “Манчестер гардиан” не без участия “Интеллидженс сервис” приезжал в Москву с целью интервьюирования В<ладимира> И<льича> Ленина»); Минаев В. <Н.>. Тайное оружие обреченных: О подрыв. деятельности империалист. разведок против лагеря демократии и социализма. <М.>: Мол. гвардия, 1952. С. 52; О так называемом «параллельном антисоветском троцкистском центре» / <Авт. публ. В. П. Гусаченко, И. П. Донков, Н. Ф. Катков, И. В. Курилов, П. П. Лаптев, Н. Г. Марченко> // Известия ЦК КПСС (М.). 1989. Сент. <№> 9 (296). С. 30–50; и др.

History of the Ukrainian Collection at the University of Toronto Library

Ksenya Kiebuzinski

When the well-respected Ukrainian philologist, lexicographer, and bibliophile, J. B. Rudnycky (1910–1995) – who had immigrated to Canada in 1949 – undertook his extensive survey of the country's Ukrainian library collections during the 1950s, he made no mention of the University of Toronto Library or its collection of Slavica. Instead, he focused on the already existing strong Ukrainian collections held by the Universities of Manitoba, Alberta, and Ottawa, as well as those held by the Redemptorist Fathers in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Archbishop and the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, and the Basilian Fathers in Mundare, Alberta.¹ Indeed, at mid-twentieth century, the University of Toronto, even with a fledgling Slavic Department and the offerings of courses in Ukrainian literature, had in its library only several hundred volumes of Ucrainica in comparison to the 2,500 volumes held by the library of the University of Ottawa or the six thousand volumes held in the library of the Redemptorist Fathers. Six decades later, however, of the Slavic and East European collections in Canada, those housed at the University of Toronto are the largest and they form a unique and valuable resource for Ukrainian studies.

Slavic and East European Collection: 1890s to the Present

The University of Toronto Library traces its origins to 1827, with the founding of the Anglican King's College, which was superseded by the secular University of Toronto in 1850. After a fire destroyed practically its entire collection of some 33,000 volumes on 14 February 1890, the Library began anew in 1892 in its first separate building.²

The year 1892 also coincided with the appointment of James Mavor to the Department of Political Economy. Mavor (1854–1925) established a tradition of Russian studies at the University that lasted three decades. His love of all things Russian could be partly attributed to the stories he heard from his mother, Mary Ann Bridie. She had spent a winter in Russia with her father, a sea captain who was engaged in trade in the Baltic and the

Far East. As a young man back in Scotland, Mavor developed an interest in socialism. This interest led to his study of political economy and to contacts with members of socialist organizations. Mavor would eventually make the economy of Russia central to his academic research. In 1886, he became a personal friend of the geographer and émigré Russian anarchist, Prince Peter Kropotkin. In the 1890s, Kropotkin and Mavor's new friend, the writer Leo Tolstoy, enlisted his help in settling the Doukhobors, a group of Russian pacifists, in Canada. In 1899, Mavor acted as an intermediary between them and the Canadian government and helped the Doukhobors (some eight thousand in all) establish communities in the eventual province of Saskatchewan. Out of his work on behalf of the Doukhobors, Mavor would maintain a close relationship with Tolstoy, corresponding with him and visiting him twice in Iasnaia Poliana. His second visit inspired him to study the reasons behind Tolstoy's revolt against the old regime. Mavor learned Russian to make up for the inadequacies of English-language sources, and despite the lack of colleagues in Toronto with a shared interest, embarked on a wide exploration of Russian literature, economics, and history. This exploration resulted in research that would 'become the apogee of his career': *An Economic History of Russia* (1914), and *The Russian Revolution* (published posthumously in 1928).³

As a result of Mavor's scholarly interests and personal connections, the nucleus of the University of Toronto Library's Slavic collection was formed in the 1890s during the period of the Library's renewal after the great fire, and grew little by little until his retirement in 1923. The early collection comprised only a few translations of Russian classics, and books in Western languages on aspects of Russian history and culture, and remained modest in size – with very little Ukrainian material – until the establishment of the Department of Slavic Studies in 1949 (renamed the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in 1968) under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.⁴

In many ways, the slow development of Slavic studies at the University of Toronto, and growth of corresponding library collections, generally mirrored the state of Slavic studies in Canada. The official 'beginning' of Slavic studies in the country did not occur until 1918, when McGill University introduced a course (likely in its extension programme) in Russian language. In the 1920s and 1930s the basis for Slavic studies in higher education was formed by pioneering Canadian Slavists, G. W. Simpson and Watson Kirkconnell.⁵ However, it was the Second World War, and

the wide-ranging events of the Cold War and the Soviet challenge (e.g. sputniks and cosmonauts), that created a higher profile for Slavic studies. For the University of Toronto, this meant the offering of extension courses in elementary and intermediate Russian by the 1943–1944 academic year. These courses were attracting up to 150 students the following year. Other advances at the University included the appointment of B. E. Shore in 1947 as lecturer in the Department of History to teach Russian history, and with a directive to develop a Slavic studies programme. With his appointment began the first credited courses in the Russian language, and two years later the creation of the Department of Slavic Studies. The number of credited courses soon grew to ten, with additional evening courses being offered in Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Estonian, Latvian, and in Slavic culture and civilization.⁶

Correspondingly, the Library's Slavic collection grew slowly but steadily, spurred during the 1950s by the establishment of the Department of Slavic Studies, the introduction of its language and literature courses, and its corresponding master's (1951) and doctoral (1962) degree programmes. By 1961, the year the first survey of Slavic resources was made at the Library, the collection numbered about 12,500 volumes, and of these, only about ten per cent were related to Ukraine.⁷ At that time, the largest proportion of Ucrainica – about seven hundred volumes – were in Ukrainian literature, reflecting the research interests of George S. N. Luckyj (1919–2001), who taught Ukrainian language and literature in the Department of Slavic Studies from 1952 to 1984. Books donated in the late 1940s by the Trident Club of St Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and from 1950 to 1954, after the establishment of the Department, by the Ukrainian Self Reliance League of Canada and by Ukrainian Branch No. 360 of the Canadian Legion BESL (British Empire Services League) in Toronto, Ontario, formed the core collection of Ukrainian literature.

The situation of the Slavic and East European collection in general changed in 1963 when the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES, now the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies) was formed under the directorship of H. Gordon Skilling (1912–2001) with a mandate to further the development of undergraduate and graduate studies, and scholarly research related to Russia and Eastern Europe. Skilling's task was challenging given the University administration's decades' long 'glacial hostility'⁸ to international studies, and 'parochial preoccupation with Western Europe and the English-speaking world'.⁹ After Mavor's retirement

in 1923, the University of Toronto had discontinued courses in Russian studies. The University paid little or no attention to the Soviet Union, or, for that matter, China, Africa, or Latin America, during the 1930s and 1940s. It was, according to Skilling, a university that 'had remained in this respect a kind of backwater; it was a great university in many fields but failed to match American and British universities in its international programs'.¹⁰ Only after the Second World War was there a thawing in the University's view: the History Department introduced its first course in Russian history in 1957.¹¹ Harold Innis, chairman of the Department of Political Economy, and then dean of the Graduate School, had invited Skilling, a political scientist and leading authority on the history of Czechoslovakia, to consider teaching positions in Slavic Studies in 1949 and in Political Economy in 1952, as well as to submit a memorandum on the development of a Soviet studies programme in 1951. Skilling finally arrived in Toronto in 1959, and immediately set about forming with Vincent Bladen, chairman of the Department of Political Economy, a Decanal Committee on Russian and East European Studies, with grant funds from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Among the Committee's members were George Luckyj, the historians Harold Nelson and Leonid Strakhovsky, the Soviet legal expert Edward McWhinney, the economist Stephen Triantis, and the geographer Neil Field. In 1961, they recommended the formation of the graduate Centre for Russian and East European Studies to study not only the Soviet Union and pre-revolutionary Russia, but also East Central Europe, with a special emphasis on the Slavic nations.¹² They concluded that there were at least two major reasons for study of this area: first, because of the inherent value of the study of historical Slavic cultures and societies; and second, the academic value of the study of the new communist order there.¹³ Despite some strong initial opposition to the Centre, the University approved its establishment in April 1963. From an initial roster of twenty faculty members from several departments (compared to one in this area of study in 1947–1948, and five or six in 1957–1958), the affiliated faculty grew to thirty by 1966 in the departments of Slavic Studies (fifteen), Political Economy (seven), History (five), Geography (one), Islamic Studies (one), and Law (one).¹⁴ In 1973 this number had increased to fifty members, plus seven professional librarians working either full or part time with Slavic and East European language materials, and who were associate members of CREES.¹⁵

Thanks to an active interest of CREES in library matters and outside funding, as for example, from the Ford Foundation and the Andrew Mellon

Foundation, the Slavic and East European collection grew more rapidly in the next five decades. These efforts were led first by Bohdan Budurowicz, a specialist in Slavic history and bibliography, and who worked as the Centre's bibliographer from 1959 to 1965,¹⁶ and then by Mary Stevens who worked as the Library's first full-time Slavic selector from 1967 to 2005. Until 1965–1966, individual faculty had been primarily responsible for book selection in their fields, and had their requests processed by the Library's Acquisitions Department on a first-come, first-served basis for as long as the year's budget lasted. This laborious process caused delays in the ordering of materials, and resulted in only thirty to fifty per cent of faculty orders being filled. The creation of the Book Selection Department in late 1965 and the hiring of specialized selectors helped coordinate the acquisition of materials, and improve the overall quality of the entire library collection.

The growth of Slavic and East European studies and the corresponding library collections at the University was rapid. However, by 1986 concerns were raised by a special committee on East European studies chaired by Harvey L. Dyck of the History Department seeking the University's affirmation of the importance and value of the programme's national and international role. The survival of CREES was in doubt. The Committee particularly questioned the University's commitment in several areas, such as Czech, Serbo-Croatian and Yiddish studies, and voiced its dissatisfaction with the budgetary support for the acquisition of current books, periodicals, and retrospective materials at the Library. Among the committee's many recommendations, the first few addressed the University of Toronto Library specifically. Their report opposed any cuts in real terms of the Library's expenditures on East European language material; proposed seeking outside funding for continuing and retrospective library acquisitions; and advocated the development of an East European cinematic and documentary film and video collection. These and the other recommendations met with success.

Whereas the Slavic collection had been described by Karol Maichel in 1961 as 'small', 'no more than an undergraduate study collection', ranking 'somewhere between fifteenth and twentieth' among North American libraries with teaching and research in Slavic studies, by early next decade – when the humanities and social sciences collections were moved to the new John P. Robarts Research Library in 1973 – Slavic and East European holdings had increased nearly eightfold from 12,500 to well over 115,000 volumes in book form (not to mention close to nine thousand microforms, and more than 8,500 other items, such as maps, musical scores, etc.).¹⁷

By 1986, the total number of volumes in the Slavic collection numbered about 175,000. In 1994 the collection was the largest, and in some areas and regions, the most comprehensive collection of its kind in Canada, and as of 2010 numbers somewhere between 600,000 to 650,000 volumes. The collection continues to support the activities of the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures – which offers instruction in seven Slavic and two Finno-Ugric languages – and the five research chairs connected with Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Polish history, and Ukrainian studies, not to mention the editorial branch office of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. It also serves Slavic and East European studies for the whole of Ontario, and for many university programmes throughout Canada. To coordinate research services, the Petro Jacyk Central and East European Resource Centre was founded in 1994 in the Robarts Library through the generosity of Petro Jacyk (1921–2001), a Ukrainian-born Toronto businessman and philanthropist, and his Foundation.¹⁸

The Ucrainica Collection

Early Decades: 1960–1979

The Ukrainian holdings of the Library's Slavic and East European collection, presently about 35,000 volumes, are housed not only in Robarts Library and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, but also in several specialized collections on campus such as Fine Art, Music, Mediaeval Studies, Law, and Media Commons (the last of which houses the Library's media archives, microforms, and audio-visual material). The overall Ukrainian collection has generally comprised anywhere from seven to ten per cent of the total, ranking in third or fourth place in size after Russian (fifty per cent), Polish (fifteen per cent), and, sometimes, Czech (also seven to ten per cent). Of all the Slavic collections, the Library's Ucrainica has remained consistently fairly strong. Maichel described in his 1961 report that for East European history, Ukrainian history was more strongly represented than that of Russia, having the essential Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi ten-volume set *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (1954–1958), and the Soviet *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï RSR* (1953–1958). As for the Ukrainian literature collection, it was 'the best of all the language collections', and the only one that could support graduate-level research,¹⁹ though its emphasis was on classical and Soviet writers, and lacked adequate holdings of Ukrainian émigré authors and pre-1955 literary journals.

The modest, core collection of Ukrainian grew from seven hundred volumes in 1961 to nine thousand book and microform (primarily serials) volumes ten years later, when another study was prepared, this time by a member of the Library's cataloguing staff, Wasyl Veryha (1922–2008). The reasons for this significant increase in size were not only the Library's concerted effort to purchase new and retrospective material, and the generosity of donors, but also the rethinking of what constitutes Ucrainica. Veryha based his findings on titles that dealt with Ukrainian topics regardless of language. The strongest areas of the collection continued to be Ukrainian language, literature and literary criticism (4,350 volumes), followed by Ukrainian history (1,900 volumes) and music (525 volumes).²⁰

To acquire new material, the Library's Book Selection Department established in 1966 a Dealer Selection Order (DSO) plan with the Edmonton-based Ukrainian Book Store.²¹ This bookstore has a long history in Canada. The brothers Mykhailo, Ivan, and Dmytro Ferbey of Western Ukraine, who immigrated to Canada and settled in Edmonton, Alberta, established it in 1913.²² Eventually, in 1920, the management of the Ukrainian Book Store (or *Ukrains'ka knyharnia*) fell to Dmytro, as his two brothers had taken up farming. It was, and continues to be, a family-run business. When Dmytro died in 1961, his son-in-law, Bohdan Melnychuk (1922–1987), took over its administration, having joined the business in 1950 shortly after his marriage to Natalka Ferbey. It was Melnychuk, his wife, and daughters, Elena and Joanne, who were responsible for selecting and sending new publications in Ukrainian produced in Soviet Ukraine and Canada to the University of Toronto Library, supplying, on average throughout the 1960s to 1980s some two hundred titles per year, and twice as many after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After her father's passing away in 1987, Elena Scharabun continued to administer the Library's Ukrainian DSO plan until 2007, when a new one was established with an independent book agent in Ukraine, Ol'ha Isaievyh. Until her death in January 2011, she had served as the director of the Lviv-based Sabre-Svitlo Foundation, and was the wife of the late eminent book historian Iaroslav Isaievyh (1936–2010).

The current purchases that the University of Toronto Library was receiving from the Ukrainian Book Store were augmented in the three decades after the formation of the Department of Slavic Studies (from 1950 to 1979) by retrospective purchases and the receipt of donations. The Library was able to buy in 1965–1966 from Wasyl O. Luciw one of the largest private Slavic collections of the time in North America. The collection of some one

thousand volumes was particularly strong in Ukrainian literature, literary criticism and history.²³ Other purchases were made possible by the Kathleen Madill Bequest, Donner Canadian Foundation, Ukrainian Students' Club Fund, and the Seweryn Windyk Bequest, the last of which still has a modest income that allows for purchases to this day.

The above funds allowed, for example, the purchase of significant runs of the monthly *Literaturno-naukovyï visnyk* published in 1898–1932 (with some interruptions) in Lviv and Kyiv, and which was a leading journal of Ukrainian intellectual and cultural life in both Austrian and Russian Ukraine. The prominent Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi served as the journal's first chief editor. Besides him, the editorial board included important Ukrainian cultural and scholarly figures Ivan Franko, Osyp Makovei, and Volodymyr Hnatiuk. Other purchases focused on increasing the breadth of the collection's holdings on Ukrainian language, literature, literary criticism, and history. The Library acquired original works of nineteenth-century Ukrainian writers, such as Levko Borovykovs'kyi, Amvrosii Metlinskii, and Sydir Vorobkevych, as well as prominent writers of the early twentieth century, such as Volodymyr Vynnychenko, and of post-Second World War émigré writers. Other important acquisitions included a photocopy of N. I. Petrov's *Ocherki istorii ukrains'koi literatury XIX stolietia* (1884); an original of Mykhailo Tershakovets' *Materiialy i zamitky do istorii natsional'noho vidrodzhennia Halys'koï Rusy v 1830 ta 1840 rr.* (1907); and copies of selected bibliographical and historical materials pertaining to the development of Soviet Ukrainian literature and Soviet literary policies in Ukraine.²⁴

The University of Toronto Library's collection of Ucrainica was also largely enhanced by gifts. In 1969–1970 it received a donation of books from the estate of Petro Wolniak, and in 1977–1978 it received a small number of volumes in the fields of Ukrainian history, literature, and economics from the Ukrainian-Canadian activist Stanley W. Frolick, and a large collection of books on Ukrainian church history from Josef, Cardinal Slipyj (1892–1984), Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Regular donations were also received from the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries of books of classical and modern Ukrainian literature, and material on Ukraine, though this organization's motives were mostly to establish contacts with the West to promote Soviet propaganda. Aside from these more general gifts, the Library received items of rare Ucrainica through special donations, such as, for example, when in 1965 it received from the estate of John B. C. Watkins (1902–1964), one-

time Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1954–1956), five hundred volumes of Slavic literature. The most important of these volumes was the first printed edition of the *Kievo-Pecherskii paterik* (Kyiv, 1661), a collection of tales about the lives of Orthodox saints, monks, and hermits connected with the Kyivan Caves Monastery.²⁵

By the mid to late 1970s, the University of Toronto Libraries had in its now large collection of Ukrainica some exceptionally rare editions, such as Mikhail Maksimovich's *Ukrainskiiia narodnyia piesni* (1834); Żegota Pauli's *Pieśni ludu ruskiego w Galicyi* (1839–1840); Nikolai Markevich's *Istoriia Malorossii* (1842); *Istoriia Rusov, ili, Maloi Rossii* (1846); and Panteleimon Kulish's *Ukrainskiiia narodnyia predaniia* (1847) and his *Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi* (1856–1857). In subsequent decades the Library added to its fine holdings of rare books and first editions such titles as Václav Hanka's polyglot translation of *Slovo o Polko Igoreve* (1821); Taras Shevchenko's *Kobzar* (1840); and Samiilo Velychko's *Lietopis sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v [XVII-m] viekie* ([1848?]-1864).²⁶

Boom Decade: 1980–1989

The development of the collection of Ukrainica over the 1960s and 1970s was impressive. Nonetheless, it was the establishment of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies in 1980 that initiated the period when the Library began to expand its Ukrainian holdings more intensively.

Paul R. Magocsi was appointed Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto in April 1980. The appointment was officially inaugurated on 22 October 1980 with his lecture 'National Cultures and University Chairs'. Prior to coming to Canada, Magocsi was at Harvard University where he was a member of the Society of Fellows, a senior research fellow of the Ukrainian Research Institute, managing editor of the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, and a member of the editorial board of the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Since receiving his doctorate at Princeton University in 1972, he has published prolifically on his various scholarly interests (a bibliography of his works published in 2000 already numbered 544 entries), including bibliography, historical cartography, historiography, nationality and language-identity issues, North American immigration, and significant contributions to Ukrainian studies. These latter book-length contributions include a historiographical guide to and collected essays on Galicia, a historical atlas of Ukraine, an edited

volume on the Ukrainian churchman Andrei Sheptytskyi, the first (and, so far, only) catalogue of Ucrainica holdings at the University of Toronto Library, and two histories of Ukraine, among many other published articles, reviews and surveys.²⁷

In 1981, Magocsi, the newly established Chair (and still incumbent), undertook the first systematic analysis of the Ukrainian collection at the University of Toronto Libraries. The result was the 'discovery' of over eleven thousand titles,²⁸ or approximately thirteen thousand volumes, which by 1986 grew to twenty thousand volumes. Magocsi estimated that of some twenty major institutions with significant Ukrainian holdings, the University of Toronto Libraries ranked sixth.²⁹

The decade following the appointment of Magocsi was particularly good to the Library, with some of the most significant acquisitions dating from this period of time. In 1982, the University of Toronto Libraries acquired a valuable collection from the estate of John Luczkiw, with a focus on the literary, cultural, and political activities of Ukrainians in the diasporas, particularly those who immigrated to Canada in the first half of the twentieth century, and those who found themselves in post-Second World War Germany and Austria (so-called 'displaced persons').

John Luczkiw (1923–1974) was a prominent University of Toronto alumnus and former Second World War refugee. He was born in a village near Sambir, in Eastern Galicia (today Lviv oblast), and undertook his middle school studies in nearby Drohobych. During the Second World War, he moved to Germany where he completed his gymnasium studies, with the aim of pursuing a higher degree in polytechnics, studies which he had already begun in Lviv, and which he continued at the Technische Hochschule in Darmstadt. Luczkiw immigrated to Toronto in 1950, where he obtained degrees in mechanical engineering and applied science from the University of Toronto. While still at the University, he joined Viceroy Manufacturing Company and eventually served as the company's vice president. Luczkiw was an active member of Toronto's Ukrainian community, serving for many years on the national executive of Plast, the Ukrainian scouting organization. He was also an avid bibliophile and bibliographer, who amassed close to five thousand books and periodicals in his unfortunately brief lifetime, and which form the basis of two collections at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library: Ukrainian Canadiana, and Ukrainian D. P. Publications, 1945–1954.³⁰

The two collections contain material on Ukrainians or in Ukrainian and published abroad from 1900 to the mid 1950s. Literary works, or *belles-lettres*,

form the largest part of the collections. The poems and stories by the early Ukrainian immigrants convey their longings and hardships, and love and hatred of the old world, Ukraine, and the new world, Canada and the displaced persons' camps of Germany and Austria. The immigrants' nostalgia for Ukraine resulted in the publication of new editions of traditional folklore and works by classic Ukrainian writers such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, and Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi. However, their reading interests were sometimes broader and included works of world literature, including American. Publishers issued Ukrainian translations of works from Jean de LaFontaine to the Brothers Grimm, and from Leo Tolstoy to Mark Twain and Upton Sinclair.

The joys and struggles of Ukrainian immigrants are documented in national-, local- and institutional-level histories. The Luczkiw collections also include examples of polemical literature by nationalists, socialists, and monarchists, and members of vying Christian creeds. Other material is instructional, including: books in Ukrainian informing immigrants about the history, geography, agriculture, and political and social life of their new homelands; Ukrainian–English phrasebooks and letter-writing handbooks; recipes from English and Ukrainian cuisines with health recommendations; and self-improvement books. Additionally, the collections contain statutes of émigré organizations; directories of Ukrainian businesses, institutions, and churches; statistical data; and serials devoted to literary and art criticism, language, religion, economics, world affairs, and so forth.

A second major acquisition came in the 1980s from the estate of Paul M. Fekula of New York. Known as the Millennium Ukrainian Collection, in commemoration of the decade-long celebrations marking one thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine-Rus', these twenty-one books were printed in Ukraine between 1614 and 1794. They were produced on presses in the Ukrainian cultural centres of Lviv, Kyiv and Pochaiv, and their texts reflect the dominant concerns of Ukrainian culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and comprise biblical texts, liturgies, and prayer books. On the collection's official deposit at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library on 5 October 1984, Harvard University Professor Edward Keenan remarked that the books were 'witnesses to the past – either through the aesthetic qualities reflected in their production or in the markings left by past owners and users'.³¹ Indeed, the cultural markings left on two of the books testified to the horrors of Soviet rule. These imprints bore inscriptions showing that they had been formerly housed in the library of medieval,

baroque-styled St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery in Kyiv, razed on Stalin's orders during the mid 1930s. Other volumes once housed in the collections of Eastern Catholic monasteries in Volhynia and Belarus, were also 'the victims of anti-religious campaigns and the vagaries of political cum religious changes in eastern Europe'. Still others point to the intertwining of the religious and the secular in the everyday lives of those who possessed them, and bear evidence of celestial events such as comets and lunar eclipses, or the cost of horseshoes.

All the volumes were purchased from the private collection of the Canadian-born New York book collector Paul M. Fekula (1905–1982), who had amassed one of the largest private libraries of Slavic books and manuscripts in North America numbering over eighty thousand volumes. Fekula was the son of a Russian Orthodox priest from a small Galician village, who had immigrated to Canada. From there the Fekula family moved to western Pennsylvania and then to New York City. Paul Fekula graduated from Harvard College and began a successful career in business that allowed him to pursue his life-long interest in collecting Russian books, manuscripts and art objects. The acquisition of the seventeenth and eighteenth century imprints from Fekula's collections for the University of Toronto Library was made possible through the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, with additional funds coming from a variety of individual sources.³²

In 1983 the Chair of Ukrainian Studies with a financial grant from benefactor Petro Jacyk deposited on microfilm all western Ukrainian serials held at the Austrian National Library in Vienna, as well as some additional titles held by the Széchényi National Library in Budapest, the National Museum in Prague, the Harvard College Library, and the Episcopal and Heritage Institute Libraries of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic, New Jersey. The collection spans the years 1848 to 1918, and includes complete or nearly complete runs of 175 newspapers and journals on four hundred reels. It makes the University of Toronto Library the largest holder of western Ukrainian serials in North America. The titles were issued in the historic regions of western Ukraine (i.e. Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia) that had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They touch upon a wealth and breadth of subject matter, including literature, scholarship, politics, law, religion, education, economics, the cooperative movement, agriculture, hygiene, satire, popular education, and students and the very young. The receipt of the collection was marked with the publication of a catalogue, an exhibition, and a conference featuring a number of distinguished scholars

speaking on how the material can be used for research on Ukrainian history, language, literature, bibliography and foreign relations.³³

The Jacyk Collection of Ukrainian Serials, as it is named, is an invaluable source for the study of all aspects of western Ukrainian society during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. The collection holds, for example: two early Ukrainian serials that began in 1848; several official organs of the oldest Galician cultural organizations, such as the Stauropegial Institute, the Galician Rus Matytsia, and National Home; the first periodicals in western Ukrainian vernacular; the most important late nineteenth-century Ukrainian literary and public affairs journals; the organs of various national and political orientations; the authoritative scholarly journals of the Shevchenko Scientific Society; and the publications of the national liberation movement during the First World War, including the only Hungarian journal devoted exclusively to Ukrainian affairs.

Other, smaller, collections followed the acquisitions of the Millennium and Jacyk material. In 1984, the Chair of the Ukrainian Studies Foundation purchased the library of Omelan and Alexandra Tarnavskyj, rich in Ukrainian publications from interwar Eastern Galicia, the Second World War years, and in material on the Plast scouting organization.³⁴ Tarnavskyj had amassed part of the collection while director of the Ukrainian Publishing House (Ukrains'ke Vydavnytstvo) in German-occupied Krakow and Lviv from 1942 to 1943, and as editor of numerous Plast publications. Other substantial collections were received in the 1980s: an extensive number of dictionaries from Pavlo Shteppa (1897–1980), and memoirs and émigré publications from Maria Siecins'kyj and the estate of her husband Osyp (1888–1965). A donation was also made by Stephania Hlynka and the estate of her husband Anthony (1907–1957) of a collection of early Ukrainian classical works, including authors such as Mykola Kostomarov, Stepan Rudans'kyi and Iurii Fedkovych. Anthony Hlynka had served as a Member of Parliament (1940–1949) representing the constituency of Vegreville, Alberta, and during and after the Second World War had raised awareness of the plight of Ukrainians and other refugees. Large gift collections were received in the late 1980s from Peter Krawchuk, Bohdan Panchuk, Omelan Kushnir, and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, the last of which donated pre-1950 Ukrainian Canadiana. Also received was a collection of watercolours and satirical ink drawings created by Leonid Denysenko in German displaced persons' camps in 1945.

Continuing growth: 1990–2010

The following decade, in the 1990s, the Library acquired several important Ukrainian literary collections. From Iroida Wynnyckyj it received an extensive collection of Ukrainian plays published in early twentieth-century Galicia and Canada. And, in 1997, George Luckyj helped the Fisher Library secure the papers of Arkadii Liubchenko that had been in the possession of the estate of Bishop Mstyslav – secular name Stepan Ivanovych Skrypnyk – (1898–1993), a Ukrainian Orthodox Church hierarch. Liubchenko was a prominent Soviet Ukrainian writer. He was the secretary of the literary organization Vaplite (1925–1928), and after its dissolution, of Prolitfront (1930–1931). Members of both organizations were opposed to the All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers (VUSPP) and its programme of socialist realism. The Liubchenko papers contain minutes of meetings, an extensive correspondence with leading Ukrainian writers, as well as with some Communist Party officials. The writer and his circle were champions of Ukrainian cultural independence and often were attacked and persecuted by the Communist Party.

Also in 1997, the University of Toronto Libraries received a collection on insurgency and counter-insurgency in Ukraine that includes more than 250 books, 215 cartons of material, 600 reels of microfilm, and over 250,000 documents from Soviet, Polish, German, American and Ukrainian archives during the years 1941 to 1954. The collection was assembled by Peter J. Potichnyj, a Professor Emeritus from the Department of Political Science at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. As a young teenager, he joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukraïns'ka povstans'ka armiia, or UPA) after witnessing a brutal mass killing of Ukrainians by the Polish Armia Krajowa, and served as a soldier for over two years, until the remnant of his company crossed over from Soviet-occupied Austria to the American-controlled zone in Germany in autumn 1947. In the United States, Potichnyj earned a doctorate from Columbia University in 1966, and that same year joined the faculty at McMaster University. He has published extensively on Ukrainian–Polish, Ukrainian–Jewish and Ukrainian–Russian relations, as well as on Soviet and East European politics and history. His collection was amassed as part of his work as long-standing editor of *Litopys UPA*, which in several series of publications, has issued over seventy volumes, mostly documents, but also personal narratives and other studies.

The material in the collection on the insurgent movement includes: documents from the archives of the Polish Ministry of Public Security

(Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego) on Ukrainian underground activities over the period 1945 to 1948, material also known as the Onyshkevych Papers;³⁵ the archive of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Mission in Germany from 1943 to 1951; documents of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council in New York City (Zakordonne predstavnytstvo, Ukraïns'ka holovna vyzvol'na rada, or ZP-UHVR); unpublished materials from the chronicle series *Litopys UPA*, mostly comprising memoirs and biographies; and UPA veterans' materials concerning the army's propaganda mission in Western Europe from 1947 to 1949.

The counter-insurgency movement material comprises documents on the activities of the German occupational forces, and on the Soviet internal security police and military formations (drawn from the Soviet Ministry of State Security's archive). The Soviet documents provide detailed operational information on the strategies and methods applied by Soviet forces against the Ukrainian underground, statistics on casualties suffered by the UPA, weapons and equipment captured by the Soviets, political decisions pertaining to the underground, and reports by Soviet officials based in Western Ukraine that were sent to their overseers in Kyiv and Moscow.

In the past decade, aside from acquiring material through its Ukrainian approval plan, firm orders of retrospective material, and gifts of Ucrainica, the University of Toronto Libraries' Ukrainian collection has sometimes grown by providence. The Ukrainian collection would be woefully inadequate, especially in material predating 1850, without the donation in 2001 by Karol Godlewski and family of a collection of Polonica assembled by Count Emeryk Hutten Czapski (1897–1979).³⁶ Czapski was a prominent Polish statesman from the region of Minsk and resident for many years of Słonim, near Hrodna (then in Poland, now Belarus). The collection includes material from 1505 to the twentieth century, with emphasis on the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Among the collection are items relevant to Ukrainian studies, such as early histories of Central and Eastern Europe (a.k.a. Sarmatia) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, by, for example, Maciej of Miechów and Marcin Bielski, as well as writers of the Ukrainian school of Polish literature, such as Seweryn Goszczyński, Michał Czajkowski, and Bohdan Zaleski. Of particular interest was the addition to the collection of the second, expanded edition (1660) of Beauplan's description of Ukraine.

In 2003, Lidia-Maria Kaliuzhna donated the papers of her father, Rodion Kaliuzhnyi, to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Kaliuzhnyi had served as secretary to Danylo Skoropads'kyi, the son of the last Ukrainian

hetman. The collection documents the life and activities of participants of one of the Ukrainian nationalist movements, the monarchist United Hetman Organization (Soiuz hetmantsiv derzhavnykiv), mainly from the 1940s and 1950s. It includes a great deal of correspondence between Kaliuzhnyi and other participants in the hetmanite movement in the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Australia, France, Austria and Switzerland. A considerable part of the collection contains material on the death and funeral of Danylo Skoropads'kyi. Additional material relates to the activities of the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain. There are also photographs of the Ukrainian community in the displaced persons' camps in Germany, mostly Mittenwald, from 1946 to 1949.

In more recent years, from 2006 to the present, gifts of significant private Ukrainian collections have been received from Jaroslaw and Helen Semotiuk, John S. Muchin, Marian Shtyka, Tetiana Rewa and the estate of Stepan Kylymnyk, and Olga and the late Walter Kowal.

Conclusion

Many people have contributed to developing the Ukrainian collection through the years. They include faculty members such as Bohdan Budurowycz, George S. N. Luckyj, Danylo H. Struk and Paul R. Magocsi, and librarians such as Mary Stevens, Luba Pendzey, Wasyl Veryha, Andrew Gregorovich and others. Equally important were benefactors, such as Seweryn Windyk who established a fund for the purchase of Ukrainian library materials in 1975, and Peter Jacyk, who funded the microfilming of the complete set of Western Ukrainian serials held by the Austrian National Library, established an endowment to support annual subscriptions to Ukrainian periodicals, and supported the creation of the Petro Jacyk Central and East European Resource Centre. His foundation has continued supporting the Library and beginning in 2006 has provided funds for the purchase, preservation, and/or digitization of retrospective Ukrainian library materials, and, beginning in 2008, a library fellowship to work on projects in the field of Ukrainian bibliography. More recently, John Yaremko (who sadly passed away on 7 August 2010) donated money to preserve and improve access to Ukrainian materials held by the Robarts and Fisher Libraries. Thanks to the generosity of the John and Mary A. Yaremko Foundation, the Library has scanned over four hundred volumes of pre-1923 Ukrainian imprints and made them available for scholars and the general public on the Internet Archive (www.internetarchive.org).³⁷

The above faculty, librarians, donors and benefactors, along with many others, have established the University of Toronto Libraries as a repository of Ucrainica that today should not be overlooked by scholars and researchers in the field of Ukrainian studies in Canada, or, for that matter, anywhere.

Endnotes

¹ J. B. Rudnycky, *Podorozhei po Kanadi, 1949–1959* (Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, n.d.), and *Ukrains'ki biblioteky v Kanadi*, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1954). For more on Rudnycky's surveys of Ukrainian libraries and collections in North America and Western Europe, see: Thomas Prymak, 'Inveterate Voyager: J. B. Rudnycky on Ukrainian Culture, Books, and Libraries in the West during the "Long Cold War"', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 51.1 (Mar. 2009): 53–76.

² On a general history of the University of Toronto Libraries, see: Robert H. Blackburn, *Evolution of the Heart: a History of the University of Toronto Library up to 1981* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1989).

³ For a further biography of Mavor, see: Rachel Grover and Francis W. Mavor Moore, comp., *James Mavor and His World: An Exhibition of Books and Papers Selected from the James Mavor Collection* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 1975).

⁴ The faculty in 1949 included one Associate Professor, a visiting professor and two lecturers, and had initially thirty-five students. The number of students increased to 380 in 1960–1961, who were now taught by a faculty staff of ten. See: 'Report of the Decanal Committee on Slavic Studies' (18 July 1961), 7.

⁵ Victor O. Buyniak, 'Slavic Studies in Canada: An Historical Review', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 9.1/2 (Spring 1967): 5.

⁶ Buyniak (note 5), 6–11. According to Buyniak, the largest of the extension school classes offered in 1949 was in Ukrainian, with sixty-five students.

⁷ Karol Maichel, 'Survey of the Slavic Collection at the University of Toronto Library' (1961). Karol Maichel was the Slavic librarian at Columbia University from 1953 to 1961.

⁸ H. Gordon Skilling, *The Education of a Canadian: My Life as a Scholar and Activist* (Montreal: Pub. for Carleton University by McGill-Queen's UP, 2000), 154.

⁹ 'Report of the Decanal Committee on Slavic Studies', 1.

¹⁰ Skilling (note 8), 153.

¹¹ 'Report of the Decanal Committee on Slavic Studies', 8.

¹² Skilling (note 8), 155.

¹³ 'Report of the Decanal Committee on Slavic Studies', 1.

¹⁴ Skilling (note 8), 161.

¹⁵ University of Toronto, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, *Affirming a National and International Role: East European Studies at the University of Toronto: Report of the Special Committee on East European Studies* (Toronto: The Centre, 1986), 12.

¹⁶ On Budurowycz, see Thomas M. Prymak's two articles: 'In Memoriam: Bohdan Budurowycz', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 49.1/2 (Mar.–June 2007): 5–7, and 'Remembering Bohdan Budurowycz', *CERES Newsletter* (Spring 2007).

¹⁷ Bohdan Budurowycz, 'University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.', in *Slavic and East European Resources in Canadian Academic and Research Libraries, Research Collections in Canadian Libraries: Special Studies*, vol. 4 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1976).

¹⁸ For more on Petro Jacyk's philanthropic activities, see: Vasyl Veryha, 'Ukraïns'kyi metsenat: Petro Iatsyk', in *Na sluzhbi narodnii ...: vyznachni postati ukraïns'koï diiaspory* (Lviv-Toronto: Naukove t-vo im. Shevchenka, 2007), 267–83.

¹⁹ Maichel (note 7), 14, 16.

²⁰ Wasyl Veryha, 'Ucrainica at the University of Toronto Library', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 14.2 (1972): 347.

²¹ University of Toronto Library, D.S.O. No. 30 (5 Jan. 1966).

²² During the First World War, the bookstore was renamed the Canadian Importers Limited to keep active at a time when the Canadian Enemy Alien Act limited commercial activities of many Ukrainians born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

²³ Bohdan Budurowycz, 'Report on Russian and East European Acquisitions, 1965–1966' (14 July 1966).

²⁴ Budurowycz (note 23), 20 Oct. 1967.

²⁵ Toronto, Ont. University Library, *Newsletter*, no. 73 (Sept. 1965): 1–2.

²⁶ For a recent overview of some of the University of Toronto Libraries' finest and rarest holdings of Ucrainica, see: Ksenya Kiebusinski, *Through Foreign Latitudes and Unknown Tomorrows: Three Hundred Years of Ukrainian Émigré Political Culture* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 2010).

²⁷ Bibliographies of Magocsi's publications include: Luba Pendzey, ed., *Paul Robert Magocsi: a Bibliography, 1964–1985* (Toronto: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 1985), and Gabriele Scardellato, ed., *Paul Robert Magocsi: a Bibliography, 1964–2000* (Toronto: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 2000).

²⁸ *Ucrainica at the University of Toronto Library* (1985). The two-volume catalogue includes over eleven thousand titles arranged according to thirty-one chapters and eight subheadings.

²⁹ Paul Robert Magocsi, 'Ucrainica Collections and Bibliography in North America: Their Current State', *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 12.2 (Winter 1987), 77–91.

³⁰ For more on the Luczkiw collection of Ukrainian Canadiana, see: Ksenya Kiebusinski, 'Jacyk Fellow Cataloguing Luczkiw Collection of Ukrainian Canadiana', *The Halcyon*, no. 43 (June 2009): 5–7.

³¹ '21 Old Ukrainian Books Deposited at University of Toronto Library', *The Ukrainian Weekly* (4 Nov. 1984): 4.

³² Edward Kasinec and Bohdan Struminskyj, *The Millennium Collection of Old Ukrainian Books at the University of Toronto Library: A Catalogue* (Toronto: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 1984).

³³ Paul R. Magocsi, comp., *The Petro Jacyk Collection of Ukrainian Serials: A Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals* (Toronto: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 1983).

³⁴ 'U of T Ukrainian Chair Acquires New Library', *The Ukrainian Weekly* (2 Sep. 1984): 4.

³⁵ Myroslav Onyshkevych (1911–1950) was a senior UPA commander, and from October 1945 commander of Sian Group in the Sixth Military District. After the Sian Group was demobilized in late 1947, he moved to western Poland, where he was captured in 1948 by Polish security forces. Two years later he was executed.

³⁶ Luba Frastacky, 'Polonica, Canadiana, and Much More', *The Halcyon*, no. 31 (June 2003): 5, and Leszek Czubik, 'A Biography of Count Emeryk Hutten Czapski', *The Halcyon*, no. 31 (June 2003): 8–9.

³⁷ About John Yaremko and his Foundation's gift, see Ksenya Kiebusinski's articles, 'The Honourable John Yaremko Presents Gift to UTL', *PjRC Update*, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 5–6, and 'UTL's Ucrainica Appears Online at the Internet Archive', *PjRC Update*, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 6–7.

Librarians of Congress and the Russian Collections of the Library from the 19th Century to the Present Day

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Introduction

The past and present of Russian collections at the Library of Congress (LC) may be summarized in a few paragraphs (the future of course is more difficult to write about), and then filled in with more interesting detail.

LC was founded in 1800, the new nation's first cultural institution. It acquired the first building of its own in 1897 (additional buildings on Capitol Hill opened in 1939 and 1980). LC first began systematically collecting Russian materials just half its existence ago, in 1906, with the purchase of the 80,000 volume Yudin Collection from Krasnoyarsk, Siberia.² Since then it has more or less regularly collected Russian print materials at a fairly comprehensive level and, to a lesser extent, non-print materials such as photographs, posters, sound recordings, and motion pictures. The Cold War era, from the late 1940s until the fall of the USSR in 1991, saw a great increase in acquiring materials from and about Russia and the Soviet Union, and in hiring staff to acquire, catalogue, preserve, serve and interpret these collections.

We estimate that at present, LC has about 800,000 print volumes (books and bound periodicals, and equivalent volumes in microform) in Russian, and approximately the same number of print volumes about Russia in other languages, primarily in English, French and German, also in other languages of the former Soviet Union.³ Collecting from Russia and about Russia continued, not without problems, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, since LC aims to build comprehensive, universal collections of materials, in whatever format, that are of actual present or potential future interest to the Congress, other government agencies, the academic community and the general public. It is highly likely this collecting will continue, with greater emphasis on collecting 'born digital' materials, on archiving websites, and on digitizing print materials.

Now for some details to fill in some of the more interesting facets of LC's Russian collections and programmes. LC is anomalous among US government agencies – administratively it is directly under the Congress, the legislative branch of the American federal government. The director of the Library (called 'The Librarian of Congress') is appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate, and serves for life. This is in contrast to Executive Branch agencies, where agency heads change with each new four-year presidential administration (and often much more frequently).⁴ Furthermore, the Librarian of Congress is the only political appointee on the Library's staff (unlike most executive branch agencies, where major department heads, up to several dozen in larger agencies, are appointed by the President).

The lifetime appointment of the Library director and the absence of other political appointees in high management positions has the advantage, in my view, of isolating LC from everyday partisan politics and allowing the institution and its staff to take the 'long view', initiating policies and programmes with lasting, long-term positive consequences for LC and the nation and its libraries.

The aim of this paper is to describe some highlights of the development of the Library's Russian collections, as seen as through the prism of the 20th century Librarians of Congress (and one predecessor from the 19th century) and their roles in the development of LC's Russian collections, programmes and services. There have been several Librarians of Congress who have served very long terms: Ainsworth Rand Spofford, 1864–1897; Herbert Putnam, 1899–1939; L. Quincy Mumford, 1954–1974; and Daniel Boorstin, 1975–1987. The current Librarian, James H. Billington, has served since September 1987. All the 20th century Librarians of Congress have had significant influence on building LC's Slavic and Russian collections, which today are probably the largest in the world outside their countries of origin.

Ainsworth Rand Spofford

Ainsworth Rand Spofford was Librarian from 1864 until 1897.⁵ He established LC as the US copyright agency, thus providing new American publications free of charge to LC collections by copyright deposit. He also secured funding for the Library's first building of its own, which opened in 1897. While LC did not collect Russian materials at the time, Spofford laid the foundations for their future development, chiefly by negotiating

a division of labour with the Smithsonian Institution (founded 1846), whereby LC inherited the large Smithsonian library collection and took over that institution's exchanges of library materials with partners world-wide, including Russian ones.⁶

Herbert Putnam

Herbert Putnam was Librarian for forty years, 1899–1939. It was under Putnam that the scope of LC's collecting broadened from American materials and traditional 'Western civilization' to become truly global in content. Putnam was the driving force behind LC's first major Russian acquisition, the 80,000 volume Yudin Collection of Russian materials, in 1906/07. This acquisition of a pre-existing, comprehensive, well-balanced collection fitted right into the general philosophy of the Putnam years and his overall promotion of a much higher profile for LC as the national library of the US with collections of international scope.⁷ This was largely due to his activist, gregarious approach to fulfilling his obligations as Librarian of Congress.

During his tenure and particularly in the early years, Putnam implemented major efforts at opening up and expanding LC, widening the scope of its activities, raising its national profile, turning attention to international collecting, and constantly honing his vision for LC as the *de facto* national library. Indeed, many features of LC's current identity and prominence, including efforts to build up its foreign collections, date to the Putnam years and are direct results of his many initiatives.

As examples, let me note a few of the more prominent programmes and initiatives begun under Putnam's leadership, many during the first decade of his tenure as Librarian:

- Catalogue card printing and distribution to American libraries, in effect establishing the beginning of standardized descriptive and subject cataloguing in the US;
- The LC classification system was developed, published, and implemented;
- Development of a regular system for the transfer to LC of unneeded materials from other federal libraries;
- Establishment of the Legislative Research Service in 1910 (today called the Congressional Research Service), that part of LC that provides reference services and analyses directly to Congress and its staff;

- Major increases in LC funding and staffing levels by Congress;
- Greatly increased interest in foreign materials (e.g. the acquisition of the Yudin Collection; hiring a Russian staff member, Alexis Babine;⁸ the beginning of the foreign archival copying programme in 1905);
- Availability of reference services 'absolutely free, without introduction or credential, to any inquirer from any place';
- Start of LC participation in national-level interlibrary loan programmes, 1906;
- Acquisition in 1930 of the Otto Vollbehr Collection (an unparalleled major collection of 3,115 incunabula, including a copy of the Gutenberg Bible in perfect condition).⁹

LC under Putnam's leadership also took a much more prominent role at the national level, providing a number of important services to research and public libraries, for example the formation and maintenance (and, ultimately, the publication) of the *National Union Catalog*,¹⁰ the *Union List of Serials*,¹¹ and other more specialized reference tools; the development of a code for descriptive cataloguing that became the *de facto* national standard; and provision of Dewey classification numbers on printed catalogue cards (an example of a service LC provided solely for other libraries, since LC itself never used Dewey as a retrieval system for books). Putnam first explicitly defined LC as the National Library in late 1932, at which point he proudly announced that it had become the world's largest library.¹²

After the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, Americans' interest in Russia grew stronger, and for varied reasons: fear of communism and of 'Red' Russia spreading socialism throughout the world; the growing presence in the US of escapees from Russia, people who often represented the cultural, social, artistic, literary, and religious elites of pre-revolutionary Russia; fascination with new social experiments going on in Russia (liberation of women, the sexual revolution, collectivization of agriculture, etc.); and the possibility of increased opportunities for American corporations to do business with and in Russia.

The Library during the 1920s had to develop creative means to acquire Russian publications. Official exchanges were not possible, since the United States did not recognize the Soviet Union diplomatically until 1933. Some unofficial exchanges were established, although poorly documented in the archives, and many materials were received from Russia as gifts. The American Consulate in Latvia (then an independent country not in the

USSR) regularly purchased Russian publications for its library in Riga as well as for the Library of Congress, and these were sent to LC's Division of Documents for addition to the collections.

Finally, in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, LC systematically purchased Russian publications, primarily pre-revolutionary ones but also from the Soviet period, from two book dealers in New York, Israel Perlstein¹³ and Simeon Bolan.¹⁴ These two dealers had access to tens of thousands of books and journals confiscated from private individual and institutional libraries in the 1920s and sold for hard currency through selected dealers and auction houses in Western Europe and New York.

One interesting and unusual Russian collection acquired from Perlstein in the early 1930s by the direct intervention of Librarian Putnam was the 'Russian Imperial Collection', a collection of 2,800 volumes from the personal libraries of the tsars, primarily Alexander III and Nicholas II and their families, from the Winter Palace and other imperial palaces in and around St Petersburg.¹⁵

Archibald MacLeish

MacLeish was the Librarian of Congress from 1939 until 1944.¹⁶ Many, both inside and outside LC, concluded that the Library, after forty years with the same director, had become ossified and the staff demoralized. MacLeish noted in an interview, many years after leaving LC, '... [the Library] really had fallen apart. I have the greatest admiration for Putnam. He gets very high marks for what he did, but it's just another case of a man staying on too long.'¹⁷

MacLeish in his short term as Librarian accomplished a major reorganization and persuaded Congress to approve a large increase in the Library's budget, including for staff salaries and more staff positions. MacLeish later described his two greatest accomplishments as Librarian as 'moving LC into the 20th century' and bringing the Library into contact with the scholarly community.¹⁸ Most of his term was during World War II, when the Soviet Union and the US were allies and American interest in Russia and the USSR again increased noticeably.

One important programme established during MacLeish's tenure was the Interdepartmental Committee for the Acquisition of Foreign Publications (later called the Cooperative Acquisitions Project for Wartime Publications). Formed during World War II, the committee supplied foreign publica-

tions to military and security agencies, several major American university libraries, and kept copies for LC's own collections. The Library itself also produced several internal publications and analyses (classified at the time as 'restricted') based on publications acquired under the Committee's aegis.¹⁹ By 1947 the programme had distributed over 800,000 publications to American research libraries, showing 'not only the capacity of major US libraries to collaborate in acquiring elusive foreign publications, but also demonstrated LC's capacity to lead such cooperative national efforts'.²⁰

Luther H. Evans

Luther Evans was Librarian of Congress from 1945 until 1953. This was in the early years of the Cold War, but before the big increases in federal funding for Russian studies and library collections that came after the 1957 sputnik launch. The Library began publication of the *Monthly Index of Russian Accessions*, a valuable informational and selection tool for American libraries and scholars.²¹ Two more general bibliographical publications began in the Evans years, *Newspapers in Microform*,²² and *New Serial Titles*,²³ and these publications became particularly important for Russian bibliographers at university libraries with the major growth of Russian collections that began after 1957.

It was during Evans' term as Librarian that a separate Slavic Division was re-established, in 1951, with responsibility for public service, collection development, special projects, and the publication of bibliographies related to the area.²⁴ Noted émigré historian and bibliographer Sergius Yakobson, consultant on Russian and Slavic matters at LC since the early 1940s, was appointed chief of the Slavic Division in 1951 and remained in that position until his retirement in 1971.²⁵

One major, and unusual, acquisition during Evans' tenure as Librarian was the collection of colour photographs taken 1905–1914 in various locales in Russia, the Urals and Western Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia by Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorsky (1863–1944). Purchased in 1948 from the sons and daughter of the photographer (who had emigrated from Russia in 1918 and lived in Paris at the time of his death), the collection consists of 1,903 glass-plate negatives and 14 albums of black and white contact prints documenting his photographic journeys around the Russian Empire. Because of technical and preservation issues with the glass negatives, it was not until well into the digital era, at the very end of the 20th

century, that the full-colour images could be 'recovered' and viewed in their original magnificence. Full-colour prints of the images from the scanned negatives are startlingly fresh and clear, as if taken yesterday, yet evoke the poignancy of viewing a long-vanished world. The digital versions of the images have become, especially in Russia, one of the most popular elements on the LC website.²⁶

L. Quincy Mumford

L. Quincy Mumford was the Librarian of Congress from 1954 until 1974. He oversaw the large increase in Russian and Soviet collections at the height of the Cold War. Major exchanges of library materials were established with Russian and Soviet libraries beginning in the mid-1950s as the Soviet Union, after Stalin's death in 1953, gradually began to open up to the outside world. These exchanges brought in large quantities of materials. Mumford also engineered a substantial increase in the number of professional staff hired to process Russian and Slavic materials and help readers find and use them. Paul Horecky was hired in the mid-1960s as Assistant Chief of the Slavic Division, helping Yakobson with the growing administrative burdens of managing the burgeoning number of staff members dealing with Russian materials.

The Library began a number of important national programmes designed to assist American libraries under Mumford: the compilation and publication in 1963 (on microcard) of the *Cyrillic Union Catalog*;²⁷ establishment of the National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging;²⁸ and the opening of overseas offices that acquired materials not only for LC's collections but for other American research libraries as well.²⁹ Many of these initiatives began shortly after the 1957 Soviet launch of Sputnik, an event which led to greatly increased federal funding for education and library development related to the Soviet bloc countries.³⁰

A development of major and permanent importance, begun during Mumford's tenure as Librarian, was library automation, specifically the development and implementation in the mid-1960s of a standardized machine-readable format (MARC) for bibliographic records. While at first used to produce computer records that made paper cards for manual card catalogues, the MARC format and the creation of a large body of machine-readable cataloguing records led very rapidly in the early 1970s to the rise of large databases such as OCLC and RLIN and eventually to

the almost universal use of on-line public access catalogues at American libraries by the 1980s.

It is interesting to note that during the Cold War, LC did not limit its Russian/Soviet collecting just to military, security-related, and technological matters, but maintained a well-rounded, holistic approach – reflecting the contents of the original Yudin Collection acquired in 1906 as well as LC's general philosophy of being a library of universal content. Thus, LC collected heavily in the humanities and social sciences, as well as in science and technology, eager to have all available published materials that would be actually or potentially informative about the Soviet Union. The Library also collected émigré publications at a comprehensive level, thereby providing a counterbalance to official Soviet publications and viewpoints.

Daniel J. Boorstin

Daniel J. Boorstin was the Librarian of Congress from 1975 until 1987. His tenure saw a boom in library automation and the expansion of machine-readable (MARC) cataloguing to all languages and formats, with non-Roman alphabet scripts represented in romanization. An important bibliographic tool, the *Slavic Cyrillic Union Catalog*, in effect an update to the *Cyrillic Union Catalog* from the early 1960s, was published in 1980.³¹ Nationwide, librarians from research collections with major Slavic and East European holdings began to organize in order to further collaborate and communicate on current issues such as computer cataloguing, library networks, cooperative acquisitions, romanization standards, identifying good approval plan vendors, dealing with growing backlogs, and handling increased demands from users for rare and difficult-to-locate materials from Russia and Eastern Europe.³² LC participated actively in this nationwide movement, particularly in the person of David H. Kraus, Assistant Chief of the European Division.

Another initiative begun by Boorstin also continues to this day, the Center for the Book, established in 1977 and charged with promoting books, reading, inter-library collaboration and research on the history of books and reading.³³ The Center has traditionally had a strong interest in Russia and has assisted in the establishment in Russia of regional centres for the study of books and reading. In 2006 the Center co-published a major study of reading promotion in Russia, the UK and the US.³⁴

James H. Billington

The current Librarian of Congress, James H. Billington, has served since 1987. His tenure has witnessed the end of communism in Eastern Europe, the collapse of the USSR and the almost simultaneous beginning of the digital era and the consequent entry of LC into the digital world as a major producer and consumer of electronic information resources. The first Russianist to serve as Librarian of Congress, he has brought a new level of Russian-related activities, projects and initiatives to the Library, above and beyond the routine, ordinary library functions such as acquisitions, cataloguing, reference services, and preservation. These special projects have included exhibitions, seminars, conferences, assistance programmes for Russian libraries, internship programmes for Russian librarians and archivists, and in general greatly expanded connections with a number of Russian institutions.

Some examples relating specifically to the building of LC's Russian collections during Billington's tenure include the following:

- Establishment of an acquisitions office in Moscow in March 1990, charged with collecting ephemeral materials from the *glasnost'* and *perestroika* period, 1985–1991, specifically the 'independent' or informal press of those times.³⁵
- Receipt in 1994 by gift of approximately 5,000 reels of microfilm by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, representing most of the materials microfilmed by Hoover in the formerly secret archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
- Long-term loan to libraries in Russia, Lithuania and Ukraine of microfilming equipment surplus by the Defense Department and donated to LC. Under agreements with individual libraries, LC receives a copy of all materials filmed by the Russian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian libraries.
- The development of the 'Meeting of Frontiers' digital library website, focusing on the history of Russian America, the Russian and American frontiers, and their meeting in Alaska in the 18th and 19th centuries. The project, begun in 1999, has acquired thousands of digital materials from repositories in Russia (especially Siberia), Germany and the US.³⁶
- LC acquired almost 1,900 volumes published from the late 1980s through the mid-1990s when in 2002 the Victor Kamkin bookstore (Rockville, Maryland) went out of business. LC was allowed to select

volumes for its collections and was able to fill in many gaps in its collections from the very late Soviet and early post-Soviet periods, a time when LC's traditional acquisitions sources were going out of business because of radical changes in the Soviet and post-Soviet economy.³⁷

- Under an agreement with the newly established Boris Yeltsin Presidential Library in St Petersburg, LC has begun acquiring digital versions of important pre-1917 titles in the areas of Russian history, literature and law.

Collection development for the Library's Russian collections changed dramatically after the fall of the USSR and the emergence of a democratic, capitalist Russia. The Library now acquires most new publications by purchase from dealers, rather than on exchange from Soviet libraries. Some exchanges have been maintained, but the bulk of new receipts come from commercial vendors. Gifts to the LC Russian collections have become an increasingly important acquisitions source: given LC's high profile, many authors want the real or imagined prestige of having their books in our collections and a bibliographic record for them in our online catalogue. Russian visitors to the US on delegations sponsored by LC's sister agency, the 'Open World' Leadership Program, often donate books from and about their home cities and regions.³⁸

Conclusion

Thanks to LC's holistic approach to collecting, the end of the Cold War did not mean the end of Russian collecting at LC – quite the contrary, we continue to acquire at as comprehensive a level as possible given available funding, and try to keep up with the 'print' explosion in Russia (more titles and more interesting materials, published in smaller print runs – and no more communist propaganda books) and with the digital revolution as well.

With restrictions on travel within Russia liberalized after 1991, we now serve readers and researchers in new (for American Russianists) fields of study – ecology, ethnography, anthropology, ethnic relations, etc. Graduate students these days no longer need rely solely on library research in the US and archival research in Russia to write their dissertations – there is much more research involving on-site field work and study. Recent examples I am familiar with are graduate students researching the ecology of the Aral Sea and conducting 'urban anthropological' field work on inter-ethnic relations

in mixed-nationality cities such as Ufa and Kazan'. Travel to these places, and research involving direct interaction with ordinary Russians, would have been unthinkable during virtually the entire Soviet period.

LC's future, and that of its Russian collections, will be increasingly digital. This is already reflected on the Library's website, especially the homepage of the European Division, with links to digital, full-text versions of earlier bibliographic publications³⁹ as well as to newer, digital-only catalogues, bibliographies, and finding aids.⁴⁰ LC also maintains a 'portals to the world' site, with one portal page for each country of the world, designed to guide beginning researchers and even advanced ones unfamiliar with a specific country to basic Internet resources available from and about that country.⁴¹

The future of course is impossible to predict. Much of what LC collects will be digital, and selection of websites to archive will become increasingly important. Russia remains a very important country and a significant player on the world stage. It will undoubtedly be of continuing, deep interest to the Congress. It will also remain the prime focus of many in the academic world, of thousands of scholars and students world-wide. My prediction is that LC will continue to collect materials from and about Russia in all formats available, into the indefinite future.

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Endnotes

¹ Opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the Library of Congress or the US Government.

² For the history of the Yudin Collection, references to its purchase by the Library of Congress, and its subsequent fate at LC, see Harold M. Leich, ‘“So Ample a Collection, So Well Balanced”: The Yudin Collection at the Library of Congress’, *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, 9, no. 2 (2008), pp. 127–142.

³ A general overview of the Library’s Russian holdings in all formats is available at: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/european/coll/russ.html>.

⁴ Supreme Court justices and federal judges, like the Librarian of Congress, are appointed for life.

⁵ On Spofford, see John Y. Cole, *Ainsworth Rand Spofford, Bookman and Librarian* (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1975).

⁶ On the relationship with the Smithsonian Institution, see Nancy E. Gwinn, ‘The Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution: a Legislated Relationship’, in Cole and Aikin, *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress*, 2004, pp. 91–102; and her ‘The Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Global Exchange of Government Documents, 1834–1889’, *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 45, no. 1 (2010), pp. 107–122.

⁷ For Herbert Putnam and his tenure at LC, 1899–1939, see Rosenberg, *The Nation’s Great Library*, 1993; Mearns, *The Story Up To Now*, 1947; and John Y. Cole, ‘Putnam, Herbert’, in Cole and Aikin, *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress*, 2004, pp. 443–445.

⁸ On Babine and his career at LC and elsewhere, see Evgenii Pivovarov, *A. V. Babin, 1866–1930 gg.* (Sankt Peterburg: Petropolis, 2002).

⁹ Annette Melville, *Special Collections in the Library of Congress, a Selective Guide* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1980), 255.

¹⁰ The National Union Catalog (NUC) was maintained for many years as a card catalogue at LC, incorporating catalogue cards sent in by North American libraries. The pre-1956 NUC was published in 754 volumes between 1969 and 1981: *The National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell). The 1956+ NUC was published monthly with quarterly, annual, and quinquennial cumulations. The NUC faded away as a print product in the early 1990s, superseded by the large online databases such as OCLC, RLIN, WLN, and UTLAS (the last three no longer in existence).

¹¹ *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (New York: Wilson, 1927). A second edition was published in 1943, and a third and final edition, in five large volumes, in 1965 (both also published by Wilson).

¹² For LC programmes in the Putnam era, see Rosenberg, *The Nation’s Great Library*, 1993; and Mearns, *The Story Up To Now*, 1947.

¹³ On Perlstein, see Robert Karlowich, ‘Israel Perlstein and the Russian Book Trade in the US’, *Newsletter*, Slavic & East European Section, Association of College and Research Libraries, American Library Association, no. 3 (1987), pp. 52–59.

¹⁴ On Bolan, see Irina Tarsis, ‘Book Dealers, Collectors, and Librarians: Major Acquisitions of Russian Imperial Books at Harvard, 1920s–1950s’, in Anne Odom and Wendy R. Salmond, editors, *Treasures into Tractors: the Selling of Russia’s Cultural Heritage, 1918–1938* (Washington: Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens, 2009), pp. 369–387.

¹⁵ For details on the collection and its acquisition, see Harold M. Leich, ‘The Tsar’s Library, Books from Russian Imperial Palaces at the Library of Congress’, in Odom and Salmond, *Treasures into Tractors*, 2009, pp. 341–368.

¹⁶ On MacLeish, see John Y. Cole, 'MacLeish Archibald', in Cole and Aikin, *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress*, 2004, pp. 323–325; and Scott Donaldson, *Archibald MacLeish, an American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992).

¹⁷ Archibald MacLeish, *Reflections* (Amherst: U. of Massachusetts Press, 1986), p. 129.

¹⁸ MacLeish, *Reflections*, p. 136.

¹⁹ E.g. its *Subject Index to Foreign Publications*, published 13 January 1945, and a supplement, *Abstracts on Personalities*. Both these publications are now de-classified and available in LC collections.

²⁰ William G. Jones and Paul Mosher, 'Academic Libraries', in Robert Wedgeworth, editor, *World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Services*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1993), p. 18.

²¹ The publication was issued monthly from April 1948 until May 1969. From 1948 until December 1957 the title was *Monthly List of Russian Accessions*.

²² *Newspapers on Microfilm*, first–sixth editions (Washington: Library of Congress, 1948–1967).

²³ *New Serial Titles* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1951–1999?). Issued monthly, with annual cumulations, the issues for 1951–1952 bore the title *Serial Titles Newly Received*. A multi-year cumulation covering 1950–1970 was issued in 1973: *New Serial Titles, a Union List of Serials Commencing Publication after December 31, 1949. 1950–1970 Cumulative* (Washington: Library of Congress; New York, Bowker, 1973). 4 volumes. Additional multi-year cumulations by the same publishers covered 1971–75, 1976–79, 1981–85, and 1986–89. The publication seems to have ceased at the end of 1999.

²⁴ For a detailed account of the administrative history of the Slavic Division, its predecessors and successors, including today's European Division, see Jane Aikin, 'European Division and Collections', in Cole and Aikin, *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress*, 2004, pp. 233–238.

²⁵ On Yakobson, see 'Iakobson Sergei Iosifovich', in *Nezabytye mogily: rossiiskoe zarubezh'e, nekrologi 1917–2001*. Tom 6, chast' 3 (Moskva: Rossiiskaia gos. biblioteka, 2007), p. 639.

²⁶ On the Prokudin-Gorsky collection, see S. P. Garanina, *Rossiiskaia imperiia Prokudina-Gorskogo, 1905–1916* (Moskva: Krasivaia strana, 2006). The digital versions of the images are available online at: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/prok>.

²⁷ *Cyrillic Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (microprint) (New York: Readex Microprint, [1963]). The original main entry and title card files of the CUC are in the European Division at the Library of Congress; 178,226 bibliographic entities are represented in the catalogue.

²⁸ On the National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging, see John W. Cronin, 'The Library of Congress' National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging', *Libri* (Copenhagen), 16, no. 2 (1966), pp. 13–117; and Edmond L. Applebaum, 'Centralized Cataloging for the Country, Now and in the Future', in *Changing Concept of Service in Libraries: a Centennial Lecture Series and Symposium* (Terre Haute, Indiana: Dept. of Library Science, Indiana State University, 1970), pp. 42–57.

²⁹ The LC overseas offices trace their origins back to the days immediately after the end of World War II, when the Farmington Plan was devised to assure that at least one copy of every important foreign work of research value be located at an American library. The Farmington Plan began functioning in 1947 and never covered any of the Soviet-bloc countries. For a general history of the programme, see Ralph D. Wagner, *A History of the Farmington Plan* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2002). From 1965 until 1972 LC had an acquisitions office in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and from 1973 until 1977 one in Warsaw, Poland.

³⁰ On the large and rapid growth of federal funding of programmes (including library collections) for the study of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and especially on the funding provided by the National Defense Education Act of 1958, see Joseph Axelrod and Donald N. Bigelow, *Inventory of NDEA Title VI Language and Area Centers* (Washington:

American Council on Education, 1961); and Donald N. Bigelow and Lyman H. Legters, *NDEA Language and Area Centers, a Report of the First 5 Years* (Washington: Office of Education, US Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964). (*OE Bulletin*, 1964 no. 41). For a retrospective, post-Soviet view of American 'Sovietology', see David C. Engerman, *Know Your Enemy: the Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts* (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2009).

³¹ *Slavic Cyrillic Union Catalog* (microform) (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, [1980]). The original file of approximately 350,000 cards is still maintained at LC.

³² The formal start of this inter-institutional cooperation dates to the September 1975 'Slavic Librarians' Conference' held at the University of Illinois/Urbana.

³³ On the Center, see John Y. Cole, 'Center for the Book', in Cole and Aikin, *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress*, 2004, pp. 203–207; Guy Lamolinara, 'National and International Roles of the Center for the Book', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 45, no. 1 (2010), pp. 37–55.

³⁴ Valeria Stelmakh and John Cole, editors, *Building Nations of Readers: Experience, Ideas, Examples* (Moscow: Pushkin Library, 2006).

³⁵ A catalogue of LC's collection of the Soviet independent press was published in 1991: *New Soviet and Baltic Independent Serials at the Library of Congress, a Holdings List* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991). An expanded and updated version will soon be available on the European Division's webpage, at: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/european/pubs.html>.

³⁶ The digital library is available at: <http://frontiers.loc.gov/>.

³⁷ For the Kamkin project, see Harold M. Leich, 'The Victor Kamkin Bookstore and the Library of Congress, 2002 and 2006 Events', *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, 8, no. 1 (2007), pp. 25–32.

³⁸ Information on the 'Open World' programme is available at <http://www.openworld.gov/>.

³⁹ For example, Rudolf Smits, *Half a Century of Soviet Serials, 1917–1968* (Washington: LC, 1968), available full-text at: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/european/bibs/smits.html>.

⁴⁰ For example, Angela Cannon, *Russian Newspapers at the Library of Congress*. 2010, available at: <http://www.loc.gov/newspapers/ru/runews1.html>.

⁴¹ The Portals homepage is at: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/portals.html>.

Applications of Digital Technology to Slavic Librarianship¹

Aaron Trehub

The purpose of this article is to examine recent developments in information technology and suggest some ways they might be applied to the practice of Slavic librarianship. I have qualifications in both fields: originally trained as a Russian-affairs analyst and a Slavic bibliographer, I have for the past seven years been the director of library technology at Auburn University, a large land-grant university in east-central Alabama, in the American Deep South. Unlike the other large land-grant university where I used to work – the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign – Auburn does not have a strong Slavic Studies programme or a large Slavic library collection. Nevertheless, I continue to lurk on the Slavlibs e-mail forum, and so have an idea of what Slavic librarians spend at least some of their time doing. Most of it seems pretty traditional: answering questions or responding to requests from patrons, weeding collections of duplicates, swapping information on vendors, and speaking as a community on issues of concern (for example, gaps in the online version of the Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliography). One thing I have noticed is that there is hardly any discussion of Big Questions on the list – questions like the one considered in this article – and very little discussion of technology and its effects on the field. That's understandable, perhaps: Slavlibs is a working list for working librarians, and its focus is overwhelmingly practical. But I belong to other working lists for working librarians, and big questions do occasionally crop up. They usually take the form of a pointer to a provocative article or blog entry, often on some technology-related subject – for example, the Google Books legal settlement and what it portends for libraries and librarians, or open-access publishing, or the latest piece of social software and possible applications for it in libraries. That there is hardly any of this on Slavlibs, and that Slavic librarians rarely surface in other, more technology-oriented library forums, does suggest that the future of Slavic librarianship in the digital era is pretty far removed from most people's day-to-day concerns.

The first thing that needs to be said about the digital era is that there is a lot going on in it and that it is difficult to keep track or make sense of it all. In librarianship alone, we have Google Books,² the Open Content

Alliance/Internet Archive,³ HathiTrust ('a shared digital repository' led by the University of Michigan, Indiana University, the University of Virginia, and the University of California system),⁴ and other mass-digitization initiatives; the launch of the UNESCO-sponsored World Digital Library in April 2009;⁵ the eXtensible Catalog,⁶ Open Library Environment Project,⁷ and other collaborative initiatives aimed at building open-source integrated library systems from the ground up; and new discovery software tools, both commercial and open-source, that promise to make the library's local collections as well as millions of journal and newspaper articles and conference papers available through a single search interface (the almost inevitable qualifier is 'Google-like'), with relevance ranking and faceted browsing. All of these developments are interesting and most of them are encouraging, although there is uneasiness in the American library community and indeed elsewhere about Google's role and intentions.⁸ On the less-encouraging side, there is continuing speculation about the usefulness and relevance of libraries in general and academic libraries in particular, the death of the traditional book as a means of cultural transmission (manifested in the buzz around Amazon's Kindle, Barnes & Noble's Nook, Apple's iPad, and other e-readers),⁹ the death of bibliography as a discipline, and the advent of a 'digital dark age' in which digital information gradually degrades or disappears down the memory hole. People who entered librarianship expecting a sedate career in which established order prevailed and the pace of change was slow must now be feeling like Humphrey Bogart's Rick Blaine, who went to Casablanca 'for the waters': they were misinformed.

In my almost twenty years as a professional librarian, I have seen a gradual but definite shift in emphasis from content curation to content creation. To paraphrase current OCLC Vice President for Research (and former JISC staff member) Lorcan Dempsey, libraries have traditionally acquired and managed literature by and for others.¹⁰ This is now changing, and fairly rapidly. Libraries are adding the creation of new scholarly content, or the publishing of it, to their traditional role as organizers and stewards of content created by other agencies. As a result, the boundaries between libraries, archives, museums, and other cultural-memory institutions have started to dissolve. I think these are positive developments, and hope they continue. How they will affect our field in five years, or even three, I don't pretend to know. Given the tumultuous events of recent years and the rapid pace of technological change in general, long-term prognostication seems rather beside the point. I do think that librarianship is at a fateful juncture,

but find the prospect invigorating rather than dismaying. Whatever the challenges ahead may be, I think that we can best serve our profession by joining forces with our counterparts in other cultural-memory institutions and focusing on first principles, which include discovery, open access, enrichment, stewardship, and the long-term preservation of the human record. In that spirit, then, I intend to offer some suggestions and exhortations as a former Slavic bibliographer and current library technology specialist. A caveat: this article will not discuss Twitter, Facebook, or mobile applications ('apps'), mostly because I haven't clarified my thinking about their relevance (except as current-awareness tools) to academic librarianship in general and Slavic librarianship in particular. Instead, I will focus on the more-established areas of digitization, discovery, and digital preservation.

Digitization

The first suggestion concerns digitization. In the past decade, many academic and public libraries have embarked on local digitization projects and are adding digitization to their list of routine activities. Slavic collections are contributing modestly to this trend. The *Inventory of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Digital Projects* at the Slavic and East European Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign¹¹ currently lists almost 200 digital projects at universities, libraries, museums, and archives around the world. Among many other projects, it includes 'Seventeen Moments in Soviet History' (a multimedia timeline of the years between 1917 and 1991) at Michigan State University;¹² the Prokudin-Gorskii collection of colour photographs from pre-revolutionary Russia at the Library of Congress;¹³ the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System collection at the Harvard College Library;¹⁴ and 'Russia Engages the World' at the New York Public Library.¹⁵

This is all well and good, but I think we could be doing more. Take mass digitization – that is, the large-scale digitization of printed materials. The leader in this field is still Google Books, which currently contains over ten million digitized volumes,¹⁶ although HathiTrust is growing rapidly and now contains approximately half that number.¹⁷ University of California professor Geoffrey Nunberg published a much-discussed article about Google Books' deficiencies last year in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, with plenty of amusing examples of Google's metadata howlers.¹⁸ I am sure that similarly risible examples could be found today. However, Google

Books is getting better, as well as more comprehensive. I just searched the database for occurrences of the word 'это' and got well over five million page hits in a fraction of a second. The experience of browsing the titles was pretty enjoyable – in fact, the writing of this article was delayed while I flipped through a lavishly illustrated 1996 edition of *Мастер и Маргарита*. Furthermore, Google Books now contains digitized versions of classic reference works that ought to be of interest to Slavic bibliographers and librarians in particular. For example: when I searched Google Books less than a year ago for the presentation on which this article is partially based, V. I. Mezhov's *Русская историческая библиография* (published 1882-1890) was not among the search results. It now is, along with other works by Mezhov, and in fully searchable Cyrillic text. I would suggest that Slavic librarians build on Google's work by identifying seminal titles in Russian bibliography (or history, or literature, or philosophy, or ethnography) that are in the public domain but have not been digitized, locating copies in their collections, and outsourcing their digitization, preferably with support from a professional or scholarly association (e.g. ASEES in the United States or BASEES in the United Kingdom), a regional academic or library consortium (e.g. the Committee on Institutional Cooperation or LYRASIS in the United States, or the M25 Consortium of Academic Libraries in the United Kingdom), or a national library agency (e.g. the Council on Library and Information Resources in the United States or UKOLN in the United Kingdom). The results could be made available through the HathiTrust or the Internet Archive – or Google Books.

It would also be interesting to explore consolidating digital collections on a common topic but at different institutions into a single virtual collection using the Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting (OAI-PMH)¹⁹ and an open-source indexing and discovery tool like Villanova University's VuFind,²⁰ Oregon State University's LibraryFind,²¹ or DSpace, a widely used application for creating institutional and subject-based repositories that was jointly developed by the MIT Libraries and Hewlett-Packard.²² According to the Registry of Open-Access Repositories (ROAR), there are currently over 1,800 repositories in more than 50 countries, including 339 repositories in the United States, 177 in the United Kingdom, 33 in the Russian Federation, 12 apiece in Poland and Ukraine, and two in Estonia.²³ My institution is working with other academic libraries in the southeastern United States and the Atlanta-based Association of Southeastern Research Libraries (ASERL) on setting up a repository for digital collections having

to do with the American Civil War, in connection with the 150th anniversary of the start of that conflict in 2011.²⁴ Why not a multi-institution digital initiative to mark an upcoming anniversary in Slavic and East European history or culture? It would be a good way of using technology to strengthen collaboration among Slavic collections in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and possibly other countries as well.

Discovery

Creating digital collections is one thing; putting them in front of users is another. One way to do this is to add them to the library's traditional catalogue through an open-source discovery tool like VuFind or a commercial discovery package like EBSCO Publishing's EBSCO Discovery Service, Ex Libris' Primo Central, or Serials Solutions' Summon.²⁵ At Auburn University, we are harvesting our digital collections into our VuFind installation, which offers an easy-to-search, faceted view of the library's traditional collection and locally created digital content.²⁶ Another way to get digital collections in front of users is to take advantage of social networking sites like Wikipedia and Flickr. Wikipedia's quality ranges from excellent to atrocious, but millions of people use it every day despite its flaws. We can use our expertise to make it better, especially if by doing so we can steer people to our unique resources. The idea is not a new one; it was proposed by librarians at the University of Washington several years ago.²⁷ At Auburn University, we have started adding links to our digital collections to Alabama-related articles in Wikipedia. It doesn't take long: a few minutes per link, with a note for the editing history explaining why it was added. Out of curiosity, I recently checked the Wikipedia entry on Osip Mandel'shtam to see whether the online finding aid to his papers at the Princeton University Library was among the external links at the bottom of the article.²⁸ It wasn't, so I logged in to Wikipedia and added it. It took maybe five minutes.

Similarly, libraries and museums have started posting their digital collections to Flickr Commons,²⁹ a special section of the image-hosting Web site reserved for historical photograph collections and, increasingly, other digital images from cultural-memory organizations around the world. Among the institutions represented there are the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Archives UK, the Imperial War Museum, the LSE Library, the Australian War Memorial, the

National Library of New Zealand, and the National Library of Scotland. In a presentation at the Society of American Archivists 2009 annual meeting in Austin, Texas, Deborah Wythe, Head of Digital Collections and Services at the Brooklyn Museum, described how posting materials to the Commons has made the museum's digital collections more visible. She recounted how, while analyzing usage statistics, she noticed that a specific image had been viewed only one time on the museum's Web site. She then checked the Flickr statistics. The same image had been viewed almost 6,000 times in the museum's Flickr photostream during the same period.³⁰

Most Slavic librarians are academic librarians, and working directly with faculty members is a big part of their jobs. At Auburn, we are trying to persuade teaching faculty to incorporate our digital collections into their courses. We have had some success using Omeka, a freely available 'Web-based, Web publishing platform for all kinds of collections-based research' developed at the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University.³¹ The Omeka Web site offers a video tour and examples of how it is being used. Two of the showcased Omeka projects – 'Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives'³² and 'Making the History of 1989: The Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe'³³ – were produced by Slavic scholars and include primary source material, essays, and video interviews.

Digital Preservation

If the first decade of the 21st century was the decade of mass digitization, the second decade looks likely to become the decade of digital preservation. Digital preservation is the flipside of digital collection-building. Like many things having to do with infrastructure, it is invisible, unglamorous, and absolutely necessary. Although precise figures are hard to come by, it is generally recognized that most of the world's information is currently being produced in digital form, not as print documents or analogue artifacts. This poses a serious challenge to libraries, archives, museums, and other cultural memory organizations, as well as government agencies. Unlike their analogue counterparts, digital files are inherently susceptible to decay, destruction, and disappearance. Given the vulnerability of digital content to fires, floods, hurricanes, power blackouts, cyber attacks, and a variety of hardware and software failures, cultural memory organizations need to begin incorporating long-term digital preservation services for locally created digital content into their routine operations, or risk losing that

content irrevocably. The advent of a 'digital dark age' is not just a clever conceit; it is a real danger.

A number of countries have recognized the challenge and embarked on ambitious digital preservation programmes at the national level. In the United States, the Library of Congress initiated the National Digital Information Infrastructure and Preservation Program (NDIIPP) almost ten years ago, and recently launched the National Digital Stewardship Alliance (NDSA).³⁴ In the United Kingdom, the Digital Curation Centre (DCC) of the Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC) provides a national focus for digital preservation issues.³⁵ Similar initiatives are underway in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and other European countries.

Several lessons have already emerged from these initiatives. One of them concerns the importance of collaboration among institutions, states, and even countries. In digital preservation, as in many other endeavours, there is strength in numbers. With numbers comes complexity, however, and comprehensive digital preservation programmes inevitably raise difficult technical, administrative, financial, and even legal questions. That said, these questions are not unresolvable. Indeed, they are being resolved, or successfully addressed, by a number of preservation programmes in the United States, Canada, and other countries. There is a growing body of experience that shows that it is possible to build technically and administratively robust digital preservation networks across institutional and geographical borders without compromising those networks' long-term viability through excessive complexity and cost.

One especially promising approach combines Distributed Digital Preservation (DDP) with LOCKSS ('Lots Of Copies Keep Stuff Safe') software in so-called Private LOCKSS Networks (PLNs). As its name implies, DDP is based on the idea of distributing copies of digital files to server computers at geographically dispersed locations in order to maximize their chances of surviving a natural or man-made disaster, power failure, or other disruption. DDP networks consist of multiple preservation sites, selected with the following principles in mind:

- Sites preserving the same content should not be within a 75–125-mile radius of one another;
- Preservation sites should be distributed beyond the typical pathways of natural disasters, such as hurricanes, typhoons, and tornadoes;
- Preservation sites should be distributed across different power grids;

- Preservation sites should be under the control of different systems administrators;
- Content preserved in disparate sites should be on live media and should be checked on a regular basis for bit-rot and other issues; and
- Content should be replicated at least three times in accordance with the principles detailed above.³⁶

LOCKSS was developed and is currently maintained at the Stanford University Libraries. It is ideally suited for use in DDP networks. Originally designed to harvest, cache, and preserve digital copies of journals for academic libraries, LOCKSS is also effective at harvesting, caching, and preserving multiple copies of locally created digital content for cultural memory organizations in general. LOCKSS servers (also called LOCKSS boxes, LOCKSS caches, and LOCKSS nodes) typically perform the following functions:

- They collect content from target Web sites using a Web crawler similar to those used by search engines;
- They continually compare the content they have collected with the same content collected by other LOCKSS boxes, and repair any differences;
- They act as a Web proxy or cache, providing browsers in the library's community with access to the publisher's content or the preserved content as appropriate; and
- They provide a Web-based administrative interface that allows the library staff to target new content for preservation, monitor the state of the content being preserved, and control access to the preserved content.³⁷

Although LOCKSS is open-source software and therefore theoretically available for further development by the open-source community, in practice its design and development have been confined to the LOCKSS team at Stanford.

Auburn University is a founding member of and a current participant in two LOCKSS-based distributed digital preservation networks: the MetaArchive Cooperative,³⁸ which began in 2004 under the auspices of the Library of Congress' National Digital Information Infrastructure and Preservation Program (NDIIPP);³⁹ and the Alabama Digital Preservation Network (ADPNet),⁴⁰ a statewide preservation network which began in 2006 with a two-year grant from a federal funding agency in the United States.

The MetaArchive Cooperative is an independent, international membership association administered by the Educopia Institute, based in Atlanta, Georgia. The Cooperative's purpose is to support, promote, and extend the MetaArchive approach to distributed digital preservation practices. The Cooperative is responsible for preserving member organizations' content in a decentralized, distributed preservation network consisting of subject- and genre-based archives (e.g. Southern Digital Culture, Electronic Theses and Dissertations, etc.), as well as maintaining and extending its methodology and approach to distributed digital preservation. MetaArchive is growing quickly and currently has seventeen member institutions in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Brazil. The Cooperative doubled its membership in 2009 and hopes to add more members in 2010. MetaArchive is also engaged in exploratory work with several statewide digitization efforts to build a new preservation network and infrastructure that is based on the model of a 'preservation hub'. The network currently has 16 terabytes of storage at each of the member institutions and has harvested over 700 archival units totalling almost three terabytes.

The Alabama Digital Preservation Network (ADPNet) is a statewide digital preservation network that serves cultural memory organizations in Alabama. ADPNet currently has seven members: the Alabama Department of Archives & History in Montgomery, Auburn University, Spring Hill College in Mobile, Troy University in Troy, the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, the University of Alabama in Birmingham, and the University of North Alabama in Florence. Inspired in large part by Auburn University's experience with MetaArchive, the Alabama network began in 2006 with a two-year National Leadership Grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS). The grant provided support for equipment and associated expenses to the seven participating institutions; crucially, it also covered those institutions' annual membership fees in the LOCKSS Alliance for the same period. For their part, the participating institutions split the equipment costs with the IMLS and contributed staff time and other in-house resources to the project. A LOCKSS staff member was assigned to the project to provide technical support and guidance. The IMLS grant ended in September 2008, and ADPNet is now a self-sustaining, member-managed DDP network operating under the auspices of the Network of Alabama Academic Libraries (NAAL), a department of the Alabama Commission on Higher Education in Montgomery. All seven member institutions have contributed content to the network, and over one hundred archival units

totalling almost one terabyte have been harvested to date. The network plans to harvest several terabytes of new content by the end of 2010.

Auburn University's experience with MetaArchive and especially with ADPNet suggests that LOCKSS-based distributed digital preservation networks are a relatively simple and affordable way to preserve locally created digital content, regardless of the type of institution or the nature of the content to be preserved. If a group of institutions in one of the poorest states in the United States (according to the U.S. Census Bureau, Alabama ranked 47th out of 51 states and territories in median household income in 2008⁴¹) can set up and sustain a collaborative digital preservation network, other institutions can do it too. Librarians and archivists who are considering embarking on such a project would be well advised to download and read a copy of the *Guide to Distributed Digital Preservation* (GDDP), the MetaArchive Cooperative's first book – it was published earlier this year by the Educopia Institute in Atlanta, Georgia – and the first comprehensive guide to the subject. The *Guide* is available for free, in PDF form, from the MetaArchive Web site, under 'Publications'.⁴²

Is DDP a realistic preservation option for Slavic digital collections? Obviously, I think the answer is yes, and believe that some form of distributed digital preservation is not only realistic, but necessary for the field. In an article published in the journal *Slavic & East European Information Resources* (SEEIR), I argued that Slavic libraries should set up their own digital preservation network on the MetaArchive-ADPNet model.⁴³ I've recently learned that the East Coast Consortium for Slavic Collections, a consortium of academic libraries in the northeast and mid-Atlantic regions of the United States, is engaged in an effort to harvest and preserve selected e-journals in the regular LOCKSS network – that is, the original LOCKSS network that was set up for precisely that purpose. That's commendable, but I think the next step should be to set up a Private LOCKSS Network for harvesting and preserving local digital content created by the consortium members themselves. The same thing goes for other groups of Slavic libraries in the United States – and, indeed, in other countries. There is plenty of material that needs to be preserved. It seems likely that most of the 200 or so digital collections listed in The Inventory of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Digital Projects at the University of Illinois Library at Urbana-Champaign are in danger of damage or loss. They would therefore be excellent candidates for the solution I am proposing here. Apart from its other benefits, distributed digital preservation also offers attractive opportunities for inter-

national collaboration. Geographic separation of LOCKSS nodes is one of the core principles of DDP, and the more far-flung the LOCKSS servers are, the more survivable the network will be. In this connection, I should mention that the U.S. Library of Congress is working with the MetaArchive Cooperative, ADPNet, and libraries in other countries to encourage collaboration and coordination among digital preservation networks in different parts of the world. This initiative has already produced an international conference on aligning national approaches to digital preservation that took place at the National Library of Estonia in Tallinn in May 2011.⁴⁴ We hope that this is the first of a series of conferences devoted to this work.⁴⁵

I wrote at the beginning of this article that I intended to offer both suggestions and exhortations. Here are three of the latter. First, collaborate with other institutions, including institutions in other countries. There is strength in numbers, and projects that are beyond one institution's capacities may be feasible if five or six others can be persuaded to participate. Inter-institutional collaboration is not a low-maintenance activity – it requires regular tending – but it is the only way to get a digital preservation network going. It also is regarded favourably by funding agencies. Second, get to know your library technology staff. If you haven't paid a visit to your library's technology department, make some time to meet and discuss ideas for projects. It doesn't have to be a formal meeting – in fact, informal may be better, at least to start with. Finally, get out more. Specifically, get out of the Slavic ghetto once in a while and take in a conference with a strong technology focus.

Conclusion

In a presentation I gave at a conference in Kraków fifteen years ago with the now-quaint title 'Slavic Librarianship and the World-Wide Web',⁴⁶ I argued that the opportunities created by the new digital technologies outweighed the problems. I still believe that. I don't know what the future of Slavic librarianship in the digital era will be, although I'm pretty sure that as long as Slavic studies exists as an academic discipline there will be a specialized branch of librarianship to support it. What I have tried to do here is suggest some ways of using digital technology to enrich our work. Doing so may not ensure our survival as a profession, but it will make what we do more enjoyable – and, I believe, more useful to more people.

Endnotes

¹ This is an edited and expanded version of a paper presented at the 41st national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Boston, Massachusetts in November 2009. The author would like to thank Michael Brewer of the University of Arizona Libraries and Erik Zitser of the Duke University Libraries for the invitation to speak at that conference.

² <http://books.google.com/>

³ <http://www.opencontentalliance.org/>; <http://www.archive.org/>

⁴ <http://www.hathitrust.org/>

⁵ <http://www.wdl.org/en/>

⁶ <http://www.extensiblecatalog.org/>

⁷ <http://oleproject.org/>

⁸ For a list of selected English-language articles on Google Books, see Charles W. Bailey, Jr., 'Google Books Bibliography': <http://digital-scholarship.org/gbsb/gbsb.htm>

⁹ See, for example, Robert Darnton, 'Google & the Future of Books', *New York Review of Books*, 12 February 2009: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/feb/12/google-the-future-of-books/>; and John Elder, 'Is this the final chapter for paper books?', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 2010: <http://www.littleurl.net/c3330e>

¹⁰ <http://orweblog.oclc.org/archives/002139.html>

¹¹ <http://www.library.illinois.edu/spx/inventory/>

¹² <http://www.soviethistory.org/>

¹³ <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/empire/>

¹⁴ <http://hcl.harvard.edu/collections/hpsss/index.html>

¹⁵ <http://russia.nypl.org/>

¹⁶ Sergey Brin, 'A Library to Last Forever,' *New York Times*, 8 October 2009: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/09/opinion/09brin.html>

¹⁷ University of Michigan News Service, 'HathiTrust offers full-text search of millions of digitized books and journals', 19 November 2009: <http://www.ns.umich.edu/htdocs/releases/story.php?id=7426>

¹⁸ Geoffrey Nunberg, 'Google's Book Search: A Disaster for Scholars', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 31 August 2009: <http://chronicle.com/article/Googles-Book-Search-A/48245/>

¹⁹ <http://www.openarchives.org/pmh/>

²⁰ <http://www.vufind.org/>

²¹ <http://www.libraryfind.org/>

²² <http://www.dspace.org/>. Although DSpace is the most widely-used repository software, there are other solutions. The LSE recently evaluated several digital repository software solutions and opted for Fedora; see Ed Fay, 'Repository Software Comparison: Building Digital Library Infrastructure at LSE', *Ariadne*, Issue 64 (July 2010):

<http://www.ariadne.ac.uk/issue64/fay/>

²³ <http://roar.eprints.org/> (accessed 30 September 2010).

²⁴ http://www.aserl.org/projects/Civil_War_Digitiz/Civil_War_Default.htm

²⁵ <http://www.ebscohost.com/discovery/>;

<http://www.exlibrisgroup.com/category/PrimoOverview>;

<http://www.serialssolutions.com/summon/>

²⁶ The Auburn University Libraries' VuFind catalog can be searched at: <http://catalog.lib.auburn.edu/vufind/>

²⁷ Ann M. Lally and Carolyn E. Dunford, 'Using Wikipedia to Extend Digital Collections', *D-Lib Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 5/6 (May–June 2007):

<http://www.dlib.org/dlib/mayo7/lally/05lally.html>

²⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osip_Mandelstam

²⁹ <http://www.flickr.com/commons/>

³⁰ Deborah Wythe, 'Archives on Flickr Commons: It's Not Your Mother's Audience Anymore', presentation at the Society of American Archivists Annual Meeting, Austin, Texas, 13 August 2009: http://saa.archivists.org/Scripts/4Disapi.dll/4DCGI/events/eventdetail.html?Action=Events_Detail&InvID_W=1050

³¹ <http://www.omeka.org/>

³² <http://gulaghistory.org/>

³³ <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/>

³⁴ <http://www.digitalpreservation.gov/>

³⁵ <http://www.dcc.ac.uk/>

³⁶ Katherine Skinner and Monika Mevenkamp, 'Chapter 2: DDP Architecture', *A Guide to Distributed Digital Preservation* (Atlanta, GA: Educopia Institute, 2010): pp. 12–13.

³⁷ http://lockss.stanford.edu/lockss/How_It_Works

³⁸ <http://www.metaarchive.org/>

³⁹ <http://www.digitalpreservation.gov/>

⁴⁰ <http://adpn.org/>. See also Aaron Trehub and Thomas C. Wilson, 'Keeping It Simple: The Alabama Digital Preservation Network (ADPNet)', *Library Hi Tech*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2010): 245–258: <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?articleid=1864752&show=abstract>

⁴¹ U.S. Census Bureau (2008), 'Table R1901: Median Household Income (In 2008 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars)', available at:

http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GRTSelectServlet?ds_name=ACS_2008_1YR_Goo_

⁴² <http://www.metaarchive.org/GDDP>

⁴³ Aaron Trehub, '“Slavic Studies and Slavic Librarianship” Revisited: Notes of a Former Slavic Librarian', *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, vol. 10, nos. 2/3 (April–September 2009): 170–184.

⁴⁴ <http://www.educopia.org/events/ANADP>

⁴⁵ <http://www.educopia.org/events/ANADP>

⁴⁶ Aaron Trehub, 'Slavic Librarianship and the World-Wide Web: Creating Content', in Maria Kocójowa and Wojciech Zalewski, *Libraries in Europe's Post-Communist Countries: Their International Context* (Kraków, Polish Bibliological Society: 1996): 211–217.

History and Development of the British Library Serbian Collections *

Milan Grba

The British Museum Library (BML)¹ as a great national institution has been the subject of study and research for over 170 years. A huge volume of literature has been published on the Library collections, and an equally voluminous amount of research material has been produced by the Library, since its foundation in 1753. A work that stands out for its detailed historical description and the wealth of useful information and source data about the Library is P. R. Harris, *A history of the British Museum Library, 1753–1973* (London, 1998). Another work full of fascinating insights into the development of the Library collections is I. Sternberg, ‘Policies for the acquisition of printed books at the British Museum Library, 1837–1960’, PhD thesis (London, 1991). *The British Library Journal*, now eBLJ, is a pillar of the past and present research. *Libraries within the library: the origins of the British Library’s printed collections*, ed. by G. Mandelbrote and B. Taylor (London, 2009), a collection of studies of outstanding scholarship, makes a major contribution to research on the BML. These works and many more which it is not possible to mention in this paper give not only the historical background but also provide very valuable information and sources about the beginnings and the development of the Slavonic collections in the Library. Some very fine articles have been written on parts of the Slavonic collections. One such article is C. Thomas and B. Henderson: ‘Watts, Panizzi and Asher: the development of the Russian collections, 1837–1869’, *The British Library Journal*, 1997, no. 23:2, pp. 154–75. An excellent piece of work has been done on part of the Serbian collection in the British Library: R. Cleminson, ‘The Serbian Manuscript Heritage in the British Isles’, *Portsmouth Lecture Series* (Portsmouth, 2000). About 20 medieval manuscripts of Serbian origin, among other Slavonic manuscripts in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, have attracted the attention of scores of international scholars, from the leading Slavonic philologist Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), in the first generation of Slavonic philologists, to, most recently, Professor Cleminson. The manuscript material is certainly the best studied and described part of the Serbian collection in the British Library (BL), as evidenced by R. Cleminson comp., Veronica Du Feu and W. F. Ryan, eds, *A Union catalogue of Cyrillic manuscripts in British and Irish*

collections (London, 1988). The next major project completed on the Slavonic collections in the British Isles was R. Cleminson comp., et al. *Cyrillic books printed before 1701 in British and Irish collections: a union catalogue* (London, 2000). All these secondary sources are invaluable for study and research on the BL collections.

The aim of this paper is to try to identify additional primary and secondary sources which document the development of the BL Serbian collections and to explore some methods for researching them. This paper should provide a preliminary outline of how these collections came into being, with a focus on the new finds in the British Library archive.

The year 1837 has been given a prominent place in previous studies on the BML collections. In that year Anthony Panizzi (1797–1879), the first librarian to institutionally initiate systematic foreign acquisition in the BML, was appointed Keeper of the Department of Printed Books (DPB). In the same year Thomas Watts (1811–69), another significant man for the future growth of Slavonic material, joined the DPB. Watts was instrumental in the new policy of foreign acquisition and especially in the acquisition of Russian and Slavonic material. He was remembered by subsequent generations of librarians in the BML as one of the authors, with John Winter Jones and Panizzi, of the 1845 report which successfully argued for a substantial increase in the grant for acquisitions.² That year was important for the Serbian collections in the BML and for Anglo–Serbian relations in general. In 1837 Robert Curzon (1810–73), 14th Baron Zouch of Harringworth, traveller, bibliophile and manuscripts collector, visited Mount Athos and bought among others Serbian medieval manuscripts, which were donated to the BML after his death.³ In the same year George Lloyd Hodges (1790–1862) went to Serbia as the first British Consul.⁴ The BML by then had established contacts with many antiquarian and foreign booksellers in the country. By 1841 one of them, Adolphus Asher (1800–53), a bookseller from Berlin, became a major supplier of foreign material to the BML. Asher was supplier of modern European books in all the major languages and many of the minor including Serbian.⁵ The earliest books acquired for the collection that I have managed to examine so far are those of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), Serbian philologist, collector of national folk songs, language reformer, and the author of the first Serbian dictionary. Karadžić's Serbian dictionary (*Srpski rječnik*) was printed in Vienna in 1818 and his Serbian grammar (*Wuk's Stephanowitsch kleine serbische Grammatik verdeutscht und mit einer Vorrede von J. Grimm*) was

printed in Leipzig and Berlin in 1824. The books were purchased for the collection on 30 March 1841, but I was not able to identify the invoice in the Acquisitions invoices DH 5 class series in the BL Archives. It is possible that these books might have been purchased at an auction, in which case the books may have been listed on a large invoice as no more than lot numbers with the price paid for them. If this is the case, books may only be traced by consulting the relevant auction catalogues which are primary sources in book provenance research. The first identified Asher & Co. invoice to include Serbian books was dated 17 April 1847. The invoice lists 678 titles and includes eight Croatian and Serbian books printed in Zagreb, Karlovac, Novi Sad and Vienna between 1842 and 1846.⁶ One of the books on the invoice was Jovan Popović's grammar, *Srpska gramatika ili pismenica* printed in Novi Sad in 1843. This invoice provides evidence that Asher was able to offer to Panizzi Slavonic books printed in the Austrian Empire relatively soon after their publication, for instance V. Karadžić's Serbian folk songs (*Srpske narodne pjesme*), a five-volume work printed in Vienna: the first three volumes 1841–46 were purchased in 1847; volume four printed in 1862 was purchased in 1863; and the last volume printed a year after Karadžić's death in 1864 was purchased in 1866. A book on Serbian contemporary history by the same author that was printed in Budapest in 1828 (*Miloš Obrenović knjaz Serbii; ili građa za serpsku istoriju našego vremena*) was purchased in 1849. This acquisition demonstrates that the suppliers were also looking for earlier editions. Equally, the fact that this book was accepted for the collection shows that the DPB was interested in old editions. This is certainly the case with Serbian books as many other acquisitions confirm that the books were acquired for the collection 50 years or more after their publication.⁷ The invoice of David Nutt, DPB foreign books supplier, of 20 July 1869 includes five South Slav books printed between 1780 and 1863 in Osijek, Dubrovnik, Belgrade and Zagreb. One can find out from this invoice that the Prince Bishop of Montenegro Petar II Petrović Njegoš's (1813–51) 'Light of the Microcosm' (*Luča mikrokozma*), printed in Belgrade in 1845, was acquired for the collection for the price of 25 shillings.⁸

Private sales

Private sales appeared to be an acceptable method of acquisition for Serbian books. Georgina Mary Muir Mackenzie (1833–74), traveller and writer, and the co-author with Adeline Paulina Irby (1833–1911) of *Travels in*

the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe (London, 1867), sold 12 bound volumes of Serbian and Croatian books for the price of £5 to the DPB on 12 August 1869.⁹ Nine of these books were by Đura Daničić (1825–82), Serbian philologist and lexicographer, and only one of the offered books, Serbian syntax (*Srpska sintaksa*) printed in Belgrade in 1858, was already in the collection.¹⁰ William Brenchley Rye (1818–1901), the Keeper of the DPB, didn't take this title; however, he decided to keep another copy of I. Kukuljević's (1816–89) Croatian bibliography and its Supplement *Bibliografija Hrvatska* (Zagreb, 1860; 63).¹¹ It is worth mentioning that Georgina Mary Muir Mackenzie was one of the British authors and scholars who gained her expertise in the peoples and the customs of the Balkans at first hand. Back home she used this knowledge to inform the British public about the lesser-known parts of Europe and engaged in public speaking with her fellow traveller and friend Adeline Paulina Irby. William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), British liberal statesman and four times Prime Minister, regarded Mackenzie and Irby's main work as 'the best English book I have seen on Eastern matters'.¹²

The Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century and the Crimean War (1853–56) were the main political events that aroused greater British interest in south-eastern Europe. When Prince Mihailo Obrenović III (1823–68) sent a mission to London in 1863 to lobby for Serbia over a clash which caused the Turkish bombardment of Belgrade in 1862, the Serbs met with friends and supporters in London. A series of publications that followed (W. Denton, *Servia and the Servians* (London, 1862); V. Jovanović, *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question* (London, 1863); F. Hristić, *The Serbo-Turkish Question* (London, 1863)) helped to raise the Serbian profile as never before in Britain. The BML at that time was a place where those interested could find the first translations of Serbian literature (J. Bowring, *Servian Popular Poetry* (*Narodne srpske pjesme*) printed by the author in London in 1827); or history (L. Ranke, *The History of Servia* in the translation from German of Louisa Hay Kerr (London, 1846); *A History of Servia, and the Servian Revolution, from original MSS and documents*, 2nd ed. (London, 1847); *The History of Servia, and the Servian Revolution, with a sketch of the Insurrection in Bosnia*, 3rd ed. (London, 1853)). The three editions of Ranke's history in seven years documented the interest of the British public in the events in the Balkans which they could until then read about only in the press.¹³ Mackenzie also sold to the BML a mid-14th century manuscript codex written in Old Slavonic in a Bulgarian recension which she and Irby bought

in the monastery of Visoki Dečani.¹⁴ In 1883 George Bullen (1816–94), Keeper of the DPB, authorised a purchase of K. Zhefarovich's 'The Coat of arms' (Izobraženij oružij iliričeskih) printed in Vienna in 1741, a work of great significance for the national revival of the South Slavs. This, in 1883 already a very rare book, was purchased directly from a certain Dr N. Batistić¹⁵ from Dubrovnik for the price of 80 francs or £3.40.¹⁶ The manuscript annotations on the invoice signed off by Bullen recognised this work as the second edition of an item already in the collection, P. Vitezović's *Stemmatographia, sive armorum Illyricorum delineatio, descriptio et restitutio* (Vienna, 1701).¹⁷

Purchases from the collection of the Earl of Guilford

A number of Serbian books made it into the collection by way of public sales of private collections. One such collection, that of Frederick North (1766–1827), the fifth earl of Guilford, who was the founder and patron of an Ionian university and a great philhellene, was sold in seven sales between 1828 and 1835. The collection of Frederick North was a large collection of printed books and manuscripts which included some Serbian and Slavonic books. At least four of the eight original editions of early Serbian books in the BL collection by Pavle Solarić (1779–1821), writer and geographer, are from the collection of Frederick North. The BL copy of Solarić's 'The Key to my geography' (Ključić u moe Zemleopisanie) which was published in Venice in 1804 has the manuscript presentation inscription to Lord Guilford dated Venice 10 June 1819.¹⁸ Solarić dedicated his last work 'The Slavonic Romans' (Slovenski rimljani), published in Budapest in 1818, to Lord Guilford. The dedication serves as a foreword, and is printed on the first two introductory pages of this small octavo volume. Its first sentence reveals their acquaintanceship and suggests the interest Lord Guilford might have had in Slavonic culture and civilization. It reads: 'My Lord! Never a writer of the people with a small literature could have experienced greater happiness than I am, when we met by a happy accident in Venice'.¹⁹ From the collection of Frederick North comes the work of Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), one of the most notable representatives of Serbian baroque literature, and the author of the first critical history, 'A History of the various Slavonic peoples, especially of Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs' (Istorija raznih slovenskih narodov, najpače Bolgar, Horvatov i Serbov).²⁰ This book was purchased for the collection on 11 April 1838.²¹



У ТІПОГРАФІИ ГРАНТКОНФА.

"Book presented to the British Museum by
 the author, as the first Book
 printed in the Indian District."

J. B. Jackson.

from the London. West

Set of March 1783.

Title page of a volume presented by the author to the British Museum, together with an inscription recording the donation.

Donations of Serbian printed books

Donations were and still are invaluable for the BL collections. Possibly the first Serbian items donated to the BML are the books of Dositej Obradović (1739–1811), rationalist philosopher and writer. During his stay in London, from December 1784 to June 1785, Obradović visited the British Museum (BM) and donated his books to the Library in March 1785.²² A manuscript inscription in English was inserted in the book to record his donation and the visit to the BM. It reads: ‘This Book is presented to the British Museum, by Dositheus Obradovitch, the Author, as the first Book ever printed in the Serbian Dialect. John Jackson. Clements Lane Lombard Street, 1st of March 1785.’²³ Obradović was the first Serbian writer to visit London and the first to write about his impressions and travel to England.²⁴ Gligoriје Vozarović (1790–1848), the first printer, bookseller, librarian and publisher in Serbia, published Obradović’s impressions of England in the complete works of Dositej Obradović in 1833–36 which was until then an edition that can be described as the largest and arguably the most important publishing project in modern Serbia.²⁵ Donations continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries as evidenced by another noteworthy donation in February 1920. The Serbian Legation in London donated to the DPB over 250 issues of popular Serbian literature published in the series ‘The National Library of the Jovanović Brothers’ (1880–1920) by the Jovanović publishers from Pančevo.²⁶

Acquisition policy

The most expensive purchase of a Serbian book was made during the keepership of Richard Garnett (1835–1906). The *Octoechos*, tones 1–4 (*Oktoih prvoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića* (Cetinje, 1494)) was purchased from Albert Cohn, a bookseller from Berlin, who offered it to Garnett on 2 March 1891, and the purchase was made for the sum of 70 guineas or £73 10s (about £5,700 in today’s value) on 14 April 1891.²⁷ Cohn in his letter to Garnett describes the *Octoechos* as ‘an unheard-of book for rarity and curiosity’.²⁸ Before the purchase was made, Garnett sought an expert opinion on this offer from William Richard Morfill (1834–1909), Reader in Russian and Slavonic languages at Oxford University.²⁹ The *Octoechos*, which took a year and a total of eight people to produce, was signed by its chief printer, the hieromonk Makarije. It was printed in 1494 in the printing shop of the Montenegrin ruler Đurađ Crnojević. This printing shop was active in

1493–96 before the fall of Zeta (Montenegro), and it was the second Cyrillic printing shop after that in Cracow founded by Schweipolt Fiol (d. 1525 or 1526) in 1490. The BL copy of the Octoechos is the only known Cyrillic incunable in the British Isles. There are in existence about 40 Serbian Old Slavonic printed books called ‘srbulje’ printed in the South Slav and Romanian lands, and 20 of them were printed in Venice between 1494 and 1638. The BL holds the last ‘srbulja’, a Psalter printed by Bartolomeo Ginami in Venice in 1638.³⁰ This book arrived in the library as part of a very rare collection, which may be described as Eastern and Western Church Cyrillic printed books, from the BM foundation collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753). This book would have the distinction of being the first identified Serbian book in the collection.³¹

When Baltazar Bogišić (1834–1908), law historian and jurist, sent a letter in Italian in 1867 to the BML, John Winter Jones (1805–81)³² was in his first year as Principal Librarian, as Panizzi’s successor. Bogišić was then in his fifth year as a Slavonic specialist at the Court Library (Kaiserliche und Königliche Hofbibliothek, today the National Library of Austria) in Vienna. Bogišić referred in his letter to information which he had that the BML as a ‘national and cosmopolitan’ library, ‘di carattere e nazionale e cosmopolita’, was looking for a specialist Slavonic correspondent and an agent. In this letter Bogišić offered his services, as he thought that he was the best placed for such a task as a Slavonic specialist in a legal deposit library in the Austrian Empire. He stated that nine Slavonic languages were published in the Empire and even ‘books from Turkish Bulgaria (in Bogišić’s original Italian ‘Bulgaria turca’) are printed here in Vienna’.³³ Bogišić described his proposal in three points. He was prepared to send periodical lists, every month or two, of Slavonic books printed in Austria, including even those that were printed outside her borders. He would make sure to include rare books or those that became rare (Bogišić gave as an example the works of the Prince Bishop of Montenegro Petar II Petrović Njegoš, ‘le opere dal principe Vladika del Montenegro Pietro Petrović II’). Bogišić argued that even recently published books were difficult to acquire. This was, in Bogišić’s view, due to the situation in the book trade in Slavonic countries, ‘essendo in un totale disordine ne’ paesi il commercio librario’. He was able to supply bibliographic descriptions of books and the translation of titles in Latin, French or English, as he did in the Court Library.³⁴ His proposal is likely to have gone to Watts, who succeeded Jones as Keeper, but we do not know what the response might have been. Bogišić himself

soon left the Court Library in Vienna, and his proposals came to nothing. His letter, however, provides invaluable information about an outsider's perception of the BML as a national institution which was seeking to develop its operations and collections internationally.

As previously mentioned, Petar II Petrović Njegoš's book, 'The Light of the Microcosm' (Belgrade, 1845), was purchased in 1869. It was certain, however, that the acquisition of Serbian books was nowhere near the declared aim, as Watts defined it, of uniting: 'with the best English library in England or the world the best Russian library out of Russia [...] and for every language from Italian to Icelandic, from Polish to Portuguese.'³⁵ In 1897 one of the BML's external contacts, a certain Fitzmaurice-Kelly, informed Robert Nisbet Bain (1854–1909), Assistant in DPB, translator and historian, of several Slavonic, including Serbian, translations of Don Quixote: 'As you are always anxious to make good the Library's shortcomings in the matter of Slavonic books etc., I venture to send you this note of several translations...'.³⁶ The impressions of Vladimir Burtsev (1862–1942), a Russian historian who used the BML Russian collections in the early 1890s and found a 'rich and well organised Russian library',³⁷ could not have been more different from those of Fitzmaurice-Kelly and Bain. The striking difference between the Russian, as described by Burtsev, and the rest of the Slavonic collections, or at least Serbian collections, in the BML is evident from a letter of 30 December 1892 by Čedomilj Mijatović (1842–1932), a Serbian writer, politician and diplomat, to Jovan Sundečić (1825–1900), a Serbian priest and poet and secretary to Prince (later King) Nikola I of Montenegro (1841–1921). 'Living in London, modestly and away from high society (though in it I have good friends) I am more in the great reading room of the British Museum than anywhere else. But I feel utterly humiliated when I see how few Serbian books there are in one of the largest and most famous libraries in the world'.³⁸ Mijatović, who was three times Serbian Minister in London (1884–85; 1895–1900; 1902–03), and the first Serb to become a member of the Royal Historical Society,³⁹ must surely have known very well the status of the Serbian collections in the BML. Mijatović asked for books to be sent to him and donated them to the BML.⁴⁰ He took an active interest in the Serbian collections in the BML, and on 14 October 1893 Mijatović donated five photographic facsimile leaves that were missing from the library's copy of the *Octoechos*.⁴¹ It is true, however, that, when Mijatović appraised the Serbian collection in 1892, he could only consult the General Catalogue (known as GK 1), essentially an author record of

which printing had begun in 1880.⁴² The volume which included the heading 'Servia' was printed four years later, in 1896. George Knottesford Fortescue (1847–1912), Superintendent of the reading room, published in 1886 *A Subject Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum in the years 1880–1885*⁴³ but works in Serbian were not included in this, nor in the 1891 or 1897 volumes of the BML *Subject Indexes*. The 1902 *Subject Index* which covered the next twenty years (1881–1900) included Serbian books for the first time.⁴⁴ The heading 'Servia' gives only about 100 entries, and, with the other headings in the index, not more than 160 Serbian books acquired over the period of twenty years, or on average eight monograph titles a year. This period was not particularly good for Slavonic books in general. In a memorandum which Garnett wrote when Prince Kropotkin complained in 1888 about the lack of new Russian books in the collection, he stated that 'the ordering of Russian books had been almost entirely neglected between 1874 and 1887, so Kropotkin's complaint was justified'.⁴⁵ In the previous decades the DPB might have been more successful in obtaining Serbian books for the collection. The real transformation in the growth of Serbian books in the collection, from approximately 500 volumes in the 19th century to about 35,000 in the collection today, took place in the 1930s. By 1939 the Slavonic area had two assistant keepers and two assistant cataloguers.⁴⁶ In the 1950s the Slavonic and East European area received on average 12% of the grant for acquisitions.⁴⁷ In this decade the BML established exchange agreements with national libraries and other institutions in East Europe. Some of those exchanges are still going strong, and the BL has a number of exchange partners in Serbia.⁴⁸

A résumé of Serbian printing history

The printing of modern Serbian books began in 1741 with Zhefarovich's 'The Coat of arms'.⁴⁹ In the sixty years from 1741–1800, 226 titles were printed, on average five titles a year. The real beginnings of literary movements originated in the 19th century with the national renewal movement. In the first two decades the number of printed books was about 18 a year; in the next two decades the number of printed books went up to over 31 a year; in the fifth decade it was 593 and in the sixth 670 a year, and so on. Before 1830 the Serbs had to print their books in Venice, Saxony, Austria, Hungary, Russia or in the Romanian lands. Soon after a state printing shop was established in Serbia, Vozarović opened his publishing bookshop

in Belgrade. Publishing, sale and distribution of books in the modern sense could only be established in Serbia from the mid-19th century. The old system of attracting subscribers was still pretty much in place. Karadžić lived to see 2357 subscribers from Serbia for his work on the first Serbian Government (*Praviteljstvujušči Sovjet Srpski*), printed in Vienna in 1860, a dramatic increase of subscribers from any of his previous works.⁵⁰

Conclusion

It can be said that all the periods of Serbian literacy, literature and culture are represented in the BL collection. A small number of items represent the 18th-century duality of Serbian literacy in Old Slavonic and national Serbian Slavonic. In 1740 a five-centuries-long tradition in Serbian Slavonic gave way to Russo-Slavonic, and towards the end of the 18th century to the Russian language still dominant in the Serbian Church. After 1800, when Serbian education and literature gained strength, the cultural orientation changed. Slavo-Serbian was the language of Serbian baroque literature which paved the way for a Serbian national language. The key work by Karadžić, a 26,000-word Serbian dictionary published in Vienna in 1818, with the support and help of Bartholomäus Kopitar (1780–1844), a Slovene linguist and philologist, provided the foundations for the Serbian literary language.

Several hundred of the pre-1900 Serbian books in the collection record political events, literary trends and educational movements and cultural developments in modern Serbia. A catalogue of these holdings, as an additional source to the ones described in this paper, will be necessary before any further attempt to describe the growth and history of the collections can be made.

Endnotes

* A paper written for the ICCEES VIII World Congress 2010, held in Stockholm, 26–31 July 2010, under the title: 'History and development of the British Library Serbian Collections: Notes on methodological challenges and the identification of various sources for the writing of a historical overview'.

¹ The British Library was created on 1 July 1973 by the British Library Act 1972.

² Richard Garnett, rev. P. R. Harris, 'Watts, Thomas (1811–1869)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28893>, accessed 2 July 2010).

³ R. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, 1st ed. (London, 1849); R. Curzon, *Catalogue of materials for writing, early writings on tablets and stones, rolled and other manuscripts and oriental manuscript books in the library of the Honourable Robert Curzon* (London, 1849).

⁴ S. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Serbia, 1837–1839. The mission of Colonel Hodges* (Paris, 1961)

⁵ D. Paisey, 'Adolphus Asher (1800–1853): Berlin bookseller, Anglophile, and friend to Panizzi', *The British Library Journal*, 1997, no. 23:2, pp. 131–53 (p. 136).

⁶ DH 5 17.04.1847 The price paid was £119. 8s. 10d. (in today's value around £6,000 or £8.80 per title on average).

⁷ By the same author, for example, Folk songs (Mala prostonarodna slaveno-serbska pesnarica, izdana Vukom Stefanovićem (Vienna, 1814–15)) acquired by the DPB 10.06.1869; and New Testament studies (Ogledi Svetoga pisma na srpskom jeziku (Leipzig, 1824)), acquired by the DPB 11.08.1871. See DH 5 class series BL Archives.

⁸ Original title in Cyrillic Луча микоркозма. DH 5/26 Invoice of 22.07.1869.

⁹ DH 5/26 Invoice of 12.08.1869.

¹⁰ Original title in Cyrillic Србска синтакса BL Copy at 12976.g.31. was purchased on 18.07.1863.

¹¹ Copy at 2330.b.16. was purchased 18.07.1863 and the Supplement 27.04.1865. Copy bought 12.08.1869 has the shelfmark 11903.c.13.

¹² See in his introduction to G. Mackenzie and A. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe ...* With a preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, 2nd ed. (London, 1877).

¹³ An obituary, Karađorđe Petrović (1768–1817) a leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804–13) against the Ottoman Empire and the founder of the Serbian Royal House of Karađorđević. 'Czerny-Georges', The Times Digital Archive 1785–1985 *The Times*, Saturday, Sep 06, 1817; pg. 2; Issue 10244; col F (http://web5.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/44/8/114672684w16/purl=rc2_TTDA_2_czerny_9/6/1817, accessed 5 July 2010).

¹⁴ BL, Add. MS 27442 'St Basil's writings on the ascetic life'. The MSS is signed G. Muir Mackenzie, f. 1 and the date of purchase by the BML is 3 August 1866. For the description of this MSS, see R. Cleminson comp., Veronica Du Feu and W. F. Ryan, eds., *A Union catalogue of Cyrillic manuscripts in British and Irish collections*. (London, 1988), pp. 80–86.

¹⁵ The BL holds a work by Nicolo Batistić printed in Zara (Zadar). That may have been the same person. See N. Batistić, *La Nekyia, ossia il libro XI dell' Odissea considerato dal lato linguistico e sintattico e confrontato col resto delle poesie di Omero pel Prof. N. Batistić* (Zara, 1895). BL, 11335.bbb.41.

¹⁶ The inserted note, between the flyleaf and the title page, reads in German: 'Das 5te noch existen de examplar. Preis 80 francs. N. Batistić Ragusa-Dalmatien'. The copy has a MSS annotation in Slavo-Serbian on the fly leaf with a dedication to Pavel Nenadović the Archbishop Secretary dated 1747. BL, C.40.e.38.

¹⁷ DH 5/47 17.02.1883. Venice is wrongly assigned on this invoice as the place of publication instead of Vienna in 1741.

¹⁸ Original title in Cyrillic: Ключиѣ у мое Землеописаніе чрезъ неколика писма моему пріятелю. BL copy at 869.h.28.

¹⁹ Original title in Cyrillic: Римляни Славенствовавшии. BL copy at 869.h.30.

²⁰ Original title in Cyrillic: Исторія разныхъ Славенскихъ народовъ, наипаче Болгаръ, Хорватовъ, и Сербовъ. BL copy at 869.h.22.

²¹ Some Serbian books with the bookplates of Frederick North do not have the date of acquisition but the date of purchase can be inferred from the shelfmarks assigned. For example, a copy at 869.h.26. (A. Stojković, 'Kandor'; in the original Cyrillic: Кандоръ или откровение егупетскихъ тайнъ (Budapest, 1800)) suggests purchase on the same date as Rajić's History, i.e. April 1838 or thereabouts.

²² D. Obradović, 'The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović' (Život i priključenija Dimitrija Obradovića; in the original Cyrillic: Животъ и приключенія Димитріа Обрадовича (Leipzig, 1783)) BL, C.59.d.25.(1.).

D. Obradović, 'Common sense advice' (Sovjeti zdravoga razuma; in the original Cyrillic: Совѣти здраваго разума (Leipzig, 1784)) BL, C.59.d.25.(2.).

D. Obradović, 'A word of advice' (Slovo poučiteljno; in the original Cyrillic: Слово поучителю Г. I. Золикофера (Leipzig, 1784)) which is Obradović's translation of a selection from the works of Georg Joachim Zollikofer (1730–1788) BL, C.59.d.25.(3.).

According to the shelfmark information it can be inferred that the other original editions in the BL collection of Obradović's works were acquired in the same period: Aesop's fables (Ezopove basne; in the original Cyrillic: Езопове и прочихъ разнихъ баснотворцевъ (Leipzig, 1788)) C.59.ff.15.(1), which is Obradović's translation of a selection from the works of Aesop; 'The song of Serbian salvation' (Pesma o izbavljenju Srbije; in the original Cyrillic: Пѣсна о избавлѣнію Сербіе (Vienna, 1789)) C.59.ff.15.(2.).

²³ BL, copy at C.59.d.25.(1.) In the hand of John Jackson who was one of Obradović's friends in London.

²⁴ Obradović published his impressions in 'The letters of Dositej Obradović' as the continuation of his 'Life and adventures' (Pisma Dositeja kao produženje njegovih Života i priključenija; in the original Cyrillic: Писма Д. Обрадовича, као продуженіе живота и приключенія његовы). See the nine-volume collected works of Dositej Obradović which Gligorije Vozarović published in Belgrade and Kragujevac 1833–36, vol. 2, pp. 91–123. BL, 830.h.21–22. Čedomilj Mijatović translated Obradović's letter as 'The London Impressions of a Famous Servian. A.D. 1785' in Appendix I of his 'Servia of the Servians', 2nd ed. (London, 1915). BL copy at YD.2006.a.3929.

²⁵ The DPB purchased the nine-volume complete works on 29 May 1844: see endnote 24.

²⁶ DH 53 Registers of Donations, 14 February 1920. Copy at 012265.e.5. The National Library of the Brothers Jovanović. Narodna Biblioteka Braće Jovanovića Pančevo. 1880–1920. (250 no's [i.e. items]) Pres'd [donated] by Messrs Jovanovitch, Pančevo through B.D. Jevtitch, Serbian Legation, 195 Queens Gate S.W.7. Dated 14 February 1920.

²⁷ DH 5/64 Invoice dated 2.03.1891, accepted 14.04.1891.

²⁸ See endnote 27. Letter of 23.03.1891.

²⁹ Morfill was the first professor of Russian and Slavonic studies in Britain and author of *Slavonic Literature* (London, 1883); *A Simplified Grammar of the Polish Language* (London, 1884); *Simplified Grammar of the Serbian Language* (London, 1887); *A Grammar of the Russian Language* (Oxford, 1889); and grammars of Bulgarian (London, 1897) and Czech (Oxford, 1899) among other publications and historical works on the history of Russia (London, 1890) and Poland (London, 1893).

³⁰ BL copy at 1009.b.3.

³¹ From the period 1494–1638, the BL holds two more 'srbulje' Octoechos, tones 5–8, from the printing shop of Božidar Vuković in Venice in 1537. BL copy at RB.23.b.3953 was purchased at Christie's New York on 8 June 1994. The Festal Menaion from the same printing shop (Venice, 1538) is the largest printed 'srbulja' (432 ff.). BL copy at RB.23.b.3852 was purchased from Studio bibliografico Bardi di Andrea Conti in Florence on 9 September 1999. See: Cleminson (endnote 14), pp. 9–11. The School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies has two 'srbulje' and the Bodleian Library one; in total there are seven Serbian old Slavonic books in the UK.

³² Jones has been mentioned as the co-author of the DPB 1845 report. See in Garnett (endnote 2).

³³ DH 4/1 In letters class series. Letter of 15.10.1867 received in the BM 18.10.1867.

³⁴ See endnote 33.

³⁵ Richard Garnett, rev. P. R. Harris, 'Watts, Thomas (1811–1869)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28893>, accessed 2 July 2010).

³⁶ DH 4/75 Letter of 15.12.1897

³⁷ C. Thomas and B. Henderson, 'Watts, Panizzi and Asher: the development of the Russian collections, 1837–1869', *The British Library Journal*, 1997, no. 23:2, pp. 154–175 (p. 154).

³⁸ 'Čeda Mijatović Jovanu Sundečiću 30-XII-1892', *Zapisi*, 1938, no. 19:4, p. 221.

³⁹ Corresponding member in April 1892. In the same year Mijatović published *Constantine, the last Emperor of the Greeks; or the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, after the latest historical researches* (London, 1892).

⁴⁰ See Mijatović (endnote 38), p. 221. Nikola I, King of Montenegro, 'A poet and a fairy' (Pjesnik i vila; in the original Cyrillic: Пјесник и вила (Cetinje, 1892)). BL copy at 011586.e.49. donated 11.03.1893. Nikola I, King of Montenegro, 'A Balkan tsarina' (Balkanska carica; in the original Cyrillic: Балканска Царица (Novi Sad, 1894)). BL copy 11758.dd.6.

⁴¹ It is not known who identified the missing leaves in the book, but Mijatović took the trouble to have them copied, probably from another copy in Serbia, and donated them to the BML, as is evident from a yellow stamp which indicates a donation dated 14 October [18]93 on the verso of the facsimile leaves. The inscription on the second flyleaf of the BL copy at IB.56904 states: 'the last five leaves are in photographic facsimile, and were presented by Mr. Mijatović late Serbian Ambassador in London'. See: R. Cleminson comp., et al. *Cyrillic books printed before 1701 in British and Irish collections: a union catalogue* (London, 2000), p. 1.

⁴² General Catalogue of Printed Books. [Edited from 1881–1889 by R. Garnett, and from 1890–1900 by A. W. K. Miller.] 393 pt. (London, 1881–1900). Supplement. [Containing the titles of all books added to the Library during the years 1882–1899 which were not incorporated in the General Catalogue during the process of printing. Edited by A. W. K. Miller.] 44 pt. (London, 1900–1905). For all the other BML/BL printed catalogues see also: <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/catblhold/printedcatalogues/printedcats.html>, accessed 2 July 2010.

⁴³ The series continued every five years until the publication in 1986 of the index covering the years 1971–75. The total numbers of entries for 1886–1986 is approximately 3,127,000.

⁴⁴ Subject index of the modern works added to the Library of the British Museum in the years 1881–1900, ed. G. Fortescue (London, 1902–03).

⁴⁵ P. R. Harris, *A history of the British Museum Library, 1753–1973* (London, 1998), p. 334.

⁴⁶ Harris (endnote 45), p. 546. P. R. Harris, 'Acquisitions in the Department of printed books, 1935–50, and the effects of the war', *The British Library Journal*, 1986, no. 12:2, pp. 119–44.

⁴⁷ Harris (endnote 45), p. 585.

⁴⁸ The BL Serbian exchange partners are National Library of Serbia; Matica srpska Library; Serbian Academy Library; University of Belgrade Library.

⁴⁹ S. Novaković, Serbian bibliography of recent literature 1741–1867 (Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost; in the original Cyrillic: Српска Библијографија за новију књижевност 1741–1867) (Belgrade, 1869).

⁵⁰ V. Karadžić, *Правителствујуциѣ Совѣтъ Сербскіи* за времена Кара-Ђорђејева или отимање ондашњијех великаша око власти (Vienna, 1860), p. [I].

Archival Transition in Russia and the Legacy of Displaced European Archives

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted *

The opening of Soviet archives at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s came simultaneously with the discovery of captured records from all over Europe in what had become the newly opening *Russian* archives. I was simultaneously involved personally in both those developments, together with our Stockholm panel chair, Jaap Kloosterman. The opening of archives was not merely opening physical access and declassification, but to me and many researchers, has also meant the opening of 'intellectual access' – the significantly expanded reference facilities for Russian archives over the past twenty years.¹ Twenty years later, when I am still keeping track of those reference developments, and still following the 'displaced' foreign archives in Moscow, it is a good occasion to look back in reflection. Today I can offer only a few remarks, because there is no time today for a full appraisal.²

Revelations about secret repositories of 'trophy' art in 1990, as many may recall, followed revelations about what has been estimated as over twelve million 'trophy' books transferred to the USSR at the end of the Second World War – a story yet to be described in sufficient detail.³ Then came the revelations about the captured archives, which I have been following more closely. In 1990, the captured medieval records from Tallinn, long held hostage in West Germany (found in the British Zone of Occupation after the war), had come home to what was soon to be an independent Estonia, and the remainder of the Hanseatic records captured by Soviet authorities in the Soviet Zone immediately after the war went home to Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck in what was in what was then a recently reunified Germany.

In February 1990, in a now famous newspaper series, 'Five Days in the Special Archive', Director Anatolii Prokopenko admitted the existence of many German records from the Third Reich in what had been the top-secret Central State Special (Osobyi) Archive (TsGOA SSSR). However, since the revelations in 1990–1991, none of those captured German archives in Moscow have gone home, although many among them are records of Nazi concentration camps, plundered private German Jewish papers, and parts of the same record groups involving wartime cultural seizures as those returned to West Germany by the British and Americans in the 1960s.

Later in 1990 in another newly opened Moscow archive, I discovered documents with Soviet security chief Lavrentii Beria's personal orders about the May 1945 capture of French intelligence and national security archives from a remote Gestapo/Abwehr counter-intelligence centre in a Czech village castle (then part of the Sudetenland). I gave my story to a friend, investigatory journalist Evgenii Kuz'min, who had done such fine detective work about the millions of trophy books left to rot in the abandoned church in Uzkoe outside of Moscow. Only a year later in October 1991, after the August coup, could Kuz'min publish his interview with me in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, revealing what turned out to be seven linear kilometres of records from France, along with those from many other countries. A week later, Osobyi Archive director Anatolii Prokopenko confirmed the findings of 'the well-known archival spy Grimsted' in another published interview, entitled 'Archives of French Spies on Leningrad Highway'. He admitted the existence of captured archives from almost every country in Europe.⁴

Meanwhile, already in 1996, in parallel efforts to open Soviet archives to researchers throughout the world, the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) in New York had successfully set up a Soviet-American Commission on Archives under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the American Council of Learned Societies – we took the acronym of COSAAC. I represented the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies as a member of that Commission. Annual meetings alternated between the Soviet Union and the United States during the next five years. Projects ranged from a joint service for genealogy and family history (a subject taboo during the Soviet period) to a methodological workshop on archival finding aids and reference systems.⁵ As a culmination of our Moscow meeting in 1989, US Ambassador Jack Matlock presided over a transfer ceremony for a large series of prerevolutionary Russian consular records, long held in the US National Archives, which were officially being returned to the USSR with no strings attached, although the National Archives did retain microfilm copies.

After IREX and the Kennan Institute published my *Handbook for Archival Research in the USSR* in 1989, during our COSAAC meeting in 1990 and again in winter 1991, IREX proposed to supply computers for the Soviet Main Archival Administration (Glavarkhiv) if they would work with me on a computerized update of the directory parts of my 1989 *Handbook*.⁶ Those data were already in electronic form, providing basic directory information and reference bibliography for a wide range of Soviet archives. Glavarkhiv

rejected the proposal. However, a new generation of Russian historian-archivists had already taken up the call for archival reform. A few of them had just made an historic visit to the Netherlands for their first glimpse of Western archives. Amidst the euphoria of glasnost and perestroika, even before suppression of the August coup, the then-still Soviet archival directory project was enthusiastically accepted by the Division of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. A spring 1991 agreement with the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and IREX provided for new collaboration – ArcheoBiblioBase, as the database we developed together became known.

Even before the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the project had moved to Moscow under IREX sponsorship. A computer workstation was installed in the State Public Historical Library (GPIB), where Director Mikhail Afanas'ev offered a working office, staff assistant, and bibliographic aid. (I was tremendously pleased that Mikhail Dmitrievich was with us at the Stockholm panel, because GPIB still provides institutional sponsorship for ABB in Moscow under an agreement over the last decade and a half with our Stockholm chair Jaap Kloosterman, until recently director of IISH!) Thanks to additional IREX support, the Leningrad (soon to be Petersburg) Branch of the Archive of the Academy of Sciences housed a second computer workstation and provided compilation assistance.

The following year, in June 1992, the newly established Committee on Archival Affairs of the Government of the Russian Federation (Roskomarkhiv) signed a joint agreement with IREX for ArcheoBiblioBase. Three months later, IREX issued the first product of the ABB database, an initial loose-leaf English-language directory entitled *Archives in Russia, 1992*, which was updated for presentation at the World Congress of the International Council of Archives (ICA) in Montreal in September 1992.⁷ Four years later in 1996, with added support from the Soros Foundation and the Amsterdam Institute, Vladimir Kozlov (by then newly named head of Rosarkhiv) and I presented a mock-up of the 1,000-page Russian edition of *Arkhivy Rossii* to the ICA Congress in Beijing.⁸ A further enlarged two-volume English edition appeared in New York in 2000.⁹

Perhaps I would have been better off in 1990–1991 had I sold my developing story about the French and other captured European archives in Moscow in the former Special (Osobyi) Archive to *Paris-Match*. But I had a lot at stake then with the developing collaborative archival directory. I profited not a kopeck from the story, but remained in Moscow a large part

of the time during the 1990s, working closely with Rosarkhiv and other participating Russian archival colleagues. Evgenii Kuz'min, the Moscow journalist who first told my story about the captured European archives soon became the head of the Library Division of the Ministry of Culture. Colleagues in that Ministry assisted with ABB coverage of the many archival repositories in libraries and museums under their jurisdiction. Two decades later, in the summer of 2010, I was again in Moscow trying to negotiate an arrangement with Rosarkhiv to take over the greatly expanded contemporary Internet database that now provides for the English-language version of ArcheoBiblioBase, as displayed on the Amsterdam website of the International Institute of Social History (IISH).

Most distressingly in January 2010, I received the un-Happy New Year letter from the new director of the Amsterdam Institute informing me that IISH would end their decade-and-a-half sponsorship of the ABB website at the end of the year. The English-language ABB website had been launched by our Stockholm panel Chair, Jaap Kloosterman, on the IISH website in 1997, at the elaborate Moscow presentation of the Russian printed version of *Arkhivy Rossii* in Moscow.¹⁰ Symbolically that had taken place in the auditorium of the former Central Archive of the Communist Party, now the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), where even the then head of the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service (FSB; earlier KGB), poured me a glass of champagne at the reception, with a toast to the first printed coverage of his agency archive! During the following few years, Jaap Kloosterman and I pleaded with Rosarkhiv to continue and expand collaboration with our bilingual database, which we had hoped could be transformed to an Internet system. But time and time again, Rosarkhiv refused. And then the Soros Foundation, which had been doing so much to help, expanding Russian archival reference publications including ABB, and subsidizing the Internet website 'Arkhivy Rossii', was thrown out of Moscow.

Notwithstanding the Russian refusal to continue collaboration on a bilingual basis during the early years of the new century, the English-language website continued to operate out of Amsterdam with a workstation in Moscow and minimal cooperation from Rosarkhiv, along with continuing cooperation from GPIB. By the mid-decade, IISH Director Jaap Kloosterman had found the wherewithal for IISH programmers in Amsterdam to develop the sophisticated web-based Content Management System that now supports the English-language ABB data files. The ABB Internet directory

covers archives under the many different agencies described in the 2000 printed edition – from the FSB to Memorial, from the former Peoples' Archive to the Presidential Archive and major film and photographic collections, along with state archives throughout the Russian Federation. By the end of 2010, we are prepared to add an initial segment of our updated coverage of archival holdings in Moscow and Petersburg museums. In many cases, our coverage is even more extensive than what was published in the 2000 English directory, *Archives of Russia*. Quite ironically what we now display in English on the Amsterdam website is also often more extensive and up-to-date for many repositories than the Russian-language coverage on the new official Rosarkhiv website or scattered elsewhere on other Russian websites. In fact many of the html files on the 'Arkhiy Rossi' site are still based on a retranslation back into Russian from our collaborative 2000 English ABB directory. That ironic situation, in my opinion, is not quite what the Russian Federation needs to contribute to an international archival information system for the 21st century. Rosarkhiv has already done so much over the past two decades to open intellectual access with notable reference developments, for example, many digitized updated and expanded guides for numerous archives on the Internet, and even a new fond-level Internet database drawn from many recent archival guides, albeit many of them thanks to foreign funding. Earlier in 2010, I was very reassured by President Medvedev's visit to Silicon Valley, and recent suggestions on the presidential level in Moscow, that plans are afoot for more contemporary information systems for Russia.

If Russian archival information resources could be expanded, even in days of newly contracted budgets, perhaps ABB could serve as an integral part of an international archival information system. Already operative in English, ABB could relatively easily be expanded bilingually, as it already functioned in the 1990s. I believe now Russia is the only former Soviet republic that does not have any English equivalent for basic archival information on its website. For me personally, seeing ABB based more closely again in Russia, and on a Russian archival website, would be a crowning achievement of my almost half-century career describing Soviet, and now Russian archives for foreign researchers. My first article on the subject appeared in the *Slavic Review* in 1965, following my first period of archival research in Moscow and Leningrad the year before. That article appeared, incidentally, despite the fact that one of the outside reviewers had advised the editor to reject

it on the grounds that there would be no possibilities of archival access for foreign researchers at that time!

After I heard the bad news about ABB from Amsterdam last January, I posted an announcement on major Russian history and Slavic librarians Internet list-serves, and in May the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies printed my appeal in its *NewsNet*.¹¹ Almost immediately a major German research institute offered temporary transitional support for ABB, suggesting a new partnership with the Russians, if such could be negotiated. Then soon after my Stockholm ICCEES panel presentation, I had two possible offers for ABB from different American universities, and a French research institute expressed considerable interest. That was even before I could discuss direct Rosarkhiv involvement in Moscow. Then to my delight in Moscow, Rosarkhiv did suggest their interest in taking over the English version of ArcheoBiblioBase for their official website. Since then negotiations have been proceeding slowly, although it is doubtful it could be a renewal of the same type of collaboration we enjoyed in the 1990s. I'm afraid, as I celebrated my 75th birthday in the fall of 2010, I will not personally be able to continue so actively all my own efforts as I had in the 1990s, as I gradually retire from the project. Nevertheless there is real hope for a new home for ABB, as negotiations continue with Russian colleagues in Moscow, together with my Moscow coordinator. Assurances will be needed, however, that the extent and achievements of ABB will be continued, preserved, and updated as a major archival information resource for researchers in Russia and around the world, including coverage of some of the more sensitive repositories such as the security-service and Foreign Ministry archives.

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In the meantime, the saga continues about the captured records from all over Europe imprisoned in Moscow archives, first revealed to the world in the early 1990s. I remain equally involved in following their story, with all its ironic, but ever intriguing twists of fate.

In the spring of 1994, it was the return of captured archives from France – not the art of Dürer or Degas – that ignited debate in the Russian Duma leading to passage of the 1998 law 'On Cultural Valuables Displaced to the USSR as a Result of the Second World War and Located in the Territory of the Russian Federation'. That 1998 law – with its 2000 amendments –

virtually nationalized all of the cultural spoils of war brought to the Soviet Union, without distinction among art, library books or archives. But why was it old documents few Russians could read that caused such uproar on the Russian political front and internationally in the 1990s, rather than canvases of Degas or Dürer drawings many could enjoy?

As one of my attempts to answer that question, just in time for our Stockholm panel, I received flyers from Cambridge University Press in NYC for a special issue of the *International Journal of Cultural Property* under my guest editorship. Entitled *Spoils of War v. Cultural Heritage: The Russian Cultural Property Law in Historical Context*, the special issue comprises a cluster of articles based on an international symposium on the Russian 1998 law on cultural valuables held at the Harvard Law School in February 2008. One of my own contributions addresses the question of the restitution of archives.¹²

As my second recent attempt to deal with that issue, the forthcoming paper edition of *Returned from Russia* includes my new 'Introduction' updating developments in the last three years since that volume went to press. Edited jointly with two Dutch colleagues, that volume addresses the Nazi seizure and Russian restitution of archives captured during the Second World War to four countries of Western Europe and The Rothschild Archive in London. More recently in June 2009, the first batch of Austrian archives went home – 51 out of over 80 fonds, with the remainder due back by the end of 2010, including many Jewish records. In advance of the paper edition, our British publisher has just issued my Introduction as an article in the journal *Art, Antiquity and Law*.¹³

Two-thirds of the French archives had already gone home to Paris the winter of 1993/1994, before the Duma took up the question that led to a restitution embargo in May 1995. The long-hidden French archives, including military intelligence (II^{ème} Bureau) and national security records, were being returned then on the basis of a bilateral diplomatic agreement signed by foreign ministers in Paris in November 1992 that had promised their return by the end of 1993. By that time Russian museum directors had not even considered the return of the Degas and French Impressionist paintings that were yet to be displayed in the Hermitage in 1996. Russia had already refused return of the drawings from the Bremen Kunsthalle plundered by a private Russian soldier who had continually urged their return to successive Soviet and then Russian heads of state until his death in 1997. That collection had been the first 'trophy' art to be exhibited in

both St Petersburg (1992) and Moscow (1993) and has now become a *cause célèbre* of Russian-German restitution politics.¹⁴

Although two-thirds of the French archives had gone home from Moscow before the 1994 embargo, it took another six to eight years for the rest. France finally got most (but still not all) of its remaining archives in 2000 and 2002. Nevertheless, important files of French provenance still remain in the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA), which as of 1999 took over the former Special Archive with its captured foreign records. In the meantime, only 101 drawings from Bremen (less than one-fifth of those still in Russia) – not covered by the Russian 1998 law – went home in 2000, and the stained-glass windows from Frankfurt on Oder have gone home since in 2002 and the rest in 2008 – the only returns of art under the law. Not even one thousand out of an estimated eleven or twelve million trophy books have been returned since 1991. So why is it, despite the May 1994 setback, that archival restitution has been much more successful than the return of trophy art or library books? And some even before passage of the 1998 law?

In contrast to books and art, a decade since the 1998 law was signed, there have been six cases of captured archives from the Second World War returned to Western European countries. Even before the law passed (but in accordance with its provisions) captured archives also went home to Liechtenstein (July 1996) and Great Britain (1998). Our 2007 book, *Returned from Russia*, heralds the success stories for five subsequent returns: France (1994, 2000), Belgium (May 2002), and the Netherlands (December 2001, January 2003), as well as one fond with 103 files of Masonic records from Luxembourg (August 2003). In 2001, the Rothschild papers from Vienna were handed over to The Rothschild Archive in London, the only instance of restitution to a private family.¹⁵ My Introduction to the paper edition of *Returned from Russia* (now in production) and article noted above update the story of archival returns. A sixth archival return to Austria saw 51 of over 80 fonds (record groups) of Austrian provenance transferred to Vienna in June of 2009.¹⁶ Jewish Community records from Vienna and Graz, and another 30 fonds not included in the first shipment were due to return by the end of 2010, but that transfer has been delayed. It is still to be hoped that the many scattered files of Austrian Masonic lodges will also be included, but further identification and verification are still needed for those by Austria specialists.

Negotiations are progressing for more archival returns of Jewish Community files from Greece. A Norwegian Masonic historian has been identifying

many Norwegian files still held in a pan-European fond with Masonic files from all over Europe collected by the Reichssicherheitshauptamt Amt VII, first in Berlin and then in Silesia during the Second World War.

Again the question: Why are archives going home and not the art or books? On the basis of recent analysis, I can now suggest several major factors:

(1) Western European political pressure, often involving high-level state visits, for example, French presidents and the Queen of the Netherlands.

(2) Russian political expediency.

(3) The post-1989/1991 contrast in political alignments and ideological imperatives. Russia was anxious to establish better relations with Western Europe, whereas earlier, the Soviet Union restitution of archives was predominantly limited to the Communist bloc – several million files among the extensive records ‘rescued by the Soviet Army’ were returned to Eastern Bloc nations. A few symbolic presentations were made to France and Austria in the early 1960s at the time of official state visits, and Nazi-seized records of the Norwegian royal family were also returned. Published accounts positively portrayed the Soviet role of ‘helping other countries reunify their national archival heritage’. In sharp contrast we do not find such internationally oriented attitudes in the rhetoric of post-1991 returns, and especially in the Russian Duma debates about the 1998 Russian law that requires ‘compensation’.

(4) The underlying support of international law, both in specific instruments and historical archival practice, with effective pressure of the International Council on Archives (ICA). Indeed Archives were singled out for return in the Fourteenth point in an ‘agreement of intents’ the Russian Federation signed in gaining admittance to the Council of Europe in January 1996: ‘xiv. to settle rapidly all issues related to the return of property claimed by Council of Europe member states, in particular the archives transferred to Moscow in 1945’.

(5) The circumstances and Soviet aims of archival plunder in contrast to art. Most of the captured archives, unlike art and books, were seized for ‘operational’ purposes, as instruments of Stalin’s postwar battles against internal and external enemies of the Soviet state in the emerging context of the Cold War.

(6) Like their Western brethren, Russian archivists are professionals, as were their Soviet predecessors. They too recognize the basic uniqueness of archives as official records of state, societal organizations, communities and

individuals, and the deciding factor of provenance. Albeit in the context of restitution politics, they consider that archives should be returned to their homelands. One set of archives cannot 'compensate' for another, nor can archives be subject to 'replacement in kind'. Besides, twice-plundered French military archives may have been considered important to the Soviet regime for military intelligence or geopolitics, but after 1991, they became an embarrassment in Moscow.

(7) Russian archivists at first saw potential commercial benefits from Russia's massive captured archives. Runaway inflation left few rubles in archival budgets, and the new business sector was draining off poorly paid archival staff, especially those with foreign languages. That was a period when many foreign specialists were decrying 'commercialization' in Russian archives, with high charges for the 'right to copy' as well as for copies themselves. Indeed the Special Archive started selling copies to foreigners at prices three or four times what they were charging Russians, and several times above Western standards, and they still are. Archivists still hoped the former top-secret repository could yield more 'paper gold', as publishers and the press rushed in for the 'bonanza' of revelations in the 'new' Russia. As was the case with other archives, several commercial projects involving the Special Archive were proposed, and one or two even started, including a short-lived commercial firm trying to claim exclusive research rights.

(8) The return of captured archives was also to be considered a source of 'compensation'. Russian historian-archivists partook in the tremendous surge of interest in the Russian emigration, an area long forbidden in research and publication under Soviet rule. With the approval of the Foreign Ministry, archive leaders opted to utilize the captured records they held in Moscow to demand in exchange the return of Russian émigré archives abroad, 'archival Rossica' as it became known.¹⁷ In addition to a series of Russian émigré conferences for the diaspora in Moscow, Rosarkhiv organized its own conference at the end of 1993, proclaiming an official programme for repatriation of 'Archival Rossica Abroad'. Jaap Kloosterman and I were the only foreigners on the presidium for that conference, but it took another ten years for the Dutch archives to go home without 'compensation'. Except the Russians kept all of the socialist files that the Germans had plundered from the IISH branch in Paris.

I should add that our Stockholm panelist from the Hoover Institution, Archivist Emerita Elena Danielson, was also closely involved in these developments. Although Hoover was not represented in the former Osobyi

Archive and hence was not trying to repatriate its own lost patrimony, her institution has been one of the key targets of Russian Government efforts in the United States in the programme for repatriating archival Rossica.

It is worth pointing out a parallel legal development in Russia, on which I now place more importance, namely another Federal Law enacted in October 1992 providing the 'Fundamental Legislation on Culture of the Russian Federation'. Article 59, 'Russian cultural and historical valuables outside the boundaries of the Russian Federation', reads as follows:

The Russian Federation is implementing a purposeful policy for the return of cultural valuables unlawfully transported from its territory. All cultural valuables transported abroad unlawfully that are recognized as the cultural heritage of the people of the Russian Federation, are liable for return to their home country, regardless of their temporary location and the circumstances of their export.¹⁸

That law was the basis for the officially sanctioned programme of repatriation for archival Rossica abroad, often irrespective as to whether it was taken out of the country 'illegally' or was of foreign émigré provenance.

In connection with restitution claims from abroad for archives, only those among holdings from the Special Archive are eligible, thus eliminating any of the archival Rossica Soviet authorities seized during or after the war that was transferred to other federal archives, such as the many émigré socialist, including many Menshevik records from the IISH Paris Branch that had been transferred to other archives, together with the papers of Russian liberal historian and revolutionary-era politician Pavel Miliukov, which were seized in Paris, along with the archives of the Turgenev Library that still continues in Paris.

In the case of countries seeking the return of captured foreign holdings in the Special Archive, Russian archivists in conjunction with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs devised a strategy early on of requiring claimant countries to turn over in exchange any archival 'Rossica' uncovered in their own repositories. In the Belgian case, when one Russian émigré collection found could not legally be returned to Russia, Russian archivists settled for microfilm, and even then the return of the Belgian archives from Russia was dubbed an 'exchange'. In fact, almost every legal instrument, or act of conveyance, for post-1991 restitution of archives has used the term 'exchange', rather than term 'restitution' that might imply a legal

imperative. In addition to the required 'compensation' in storage charges and other fees that legislators had written into the 1998 law, they further require the receiving side to pay for microfilming the archives before return, or at least those that Russian archivists decide might be of most interest to Russian researchers. In cases such as Liechtenstein and the Rothschild family, the returns involved rather significant 'compensation', to the extent the owners actually had to 'purchase' their archives back, under the terms of the Russian law, by purchasing some exceedingly expensive components of archival Rossica from auction houses for the purpose of 'exchange'.

The possibility of repatriating foreign Rossica, beneficial agreements, and other factors of 'compensation' may well have encouraged Russian archivists in Russia to opt for restitution in contrast to counterpart museum directors. The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow controls more 'trophy' art than any other in the capital, and suffered few losses in the course of German occupation, but its director Irina Antonova nevertheless remains one of the staunchest opponents of the restitution of art and other cultural valuables.

(9) We might add the fact that archival returns involved the willingness of archivists from the receiving countries, and their diplomatic representatives, to offer not only 'compensation' the Russian archivists were demanding. They were also willing to travel numerous times to Russia to negotiate with their Russian colleagues, and spent long days in the former Special Archive checking and identifying the files to be returned.

While many of the captured foreign records so long held secret in the Osobyi Archive have gone home since their 1990 discovery, we also need to remember the captured records from several other countries still remaining in Moscow, even some representing Holocaust victim losses, raising the question of why Russia has not facilitated their return, despite numerous signed international pledges and diplomatic agreements. Notably also, many archives of former East European brethren remain in Moscow. Most especially Poland has not been the recipient of any files since the transfers in the 1950s, except for copies of a few symbolic documents regarding the Katyn massacre.¹⁹

The 1998/2000 Russian Law regulating cultural property transferred to Russia as a result of the Second World War makes no distinction among archives, books and art. The law forbids restitution to Germany, but even private trophies not covered by the law have not returned. Neither have the archives belonging to enemies of the National Socialist regime, such as

Jewish Communities or other Holocaust victims. Most notable as representing a prominent pre-Holocaust Jewish victim is the major fond of Rathenau papers (with 419 files), which is still held in the former Special Archive and has been under contention by family heirs in Germany and Switzerland for years. After all Rathenau was assassinated in 1922 by a right-wing extremist, and his papers had been seized by the SD-Hauptamt as a prime example of a leading German Jewish politician. Should not Rathenau qualify as a victim of proto-Nazi anti-Semitism?

At least in the case of Western Europe and the Rothschild family, many Jewish Holocaust-related archives already have returned, although some important Jewish and Masonic archives from France remain in RGVA. But since the 1998/2000 law and implementation procedures, there has been no attempt to single out Jewish property as distinct from other, or to suggest it be given specific attention in terms of restitution. Rosarkhiv restitution negotiations have been only on a bilateral country-by-country basis. Perhaps now, in the wake of decisions to return more Austrian Jewish archives, consideration will be given to those of Jewish provenance from Germany, as well as those from other victims of the Nazi regime from other countries still held as prisoners of war. During the Soviet period, Jewish archival materials in the Special Archive were frequently left undescribed, or at best inadequately described. Since 1991 considerable foreign financial and technical assistance has brought noticeable improvements in the description of Jewish archival holdings, although much more is needed.²⁰ Similarly, much more descriptive cataloguing is needed for art and library books from victims of the Holocaust.

Soviet agents retrieved most of the Soviet archives seized by the invader, and even a great deal of émigré Rossica, which the Nazis had earlier collected. So why is there still little hope that 'the last prisoners of the Second World War' will be freed? At least we can take satisfaction that most of the foreign captured holdings in RGVA have been identified as to provenance, which is hardly the case with many of the 'trophy' books or art still held in many Russian repositories. 'Intellectual access' to captured archives has thus kept pace with the improved 'intellectual access' to Russian archival holdings generally. The legacy of 'displaced' (if not 'trophy') archives has at least to that extent benefited from the major archival transition in Russia.

Endnotes

* This and the two following articles are based on papers presented at the panel on Archives.

¹ My reactions and commentary at the time, first in a series of articles in the *American Archivist* (1989–1993), and a 1990 ICCEES Harrogate presentation in *Solanus* 5 (1991), pp. 177–98) were expanded in my monograph, *Archives of Russia Five Years After – : ‘Purveyors of Sensations’ or ‘Shadows Cast out to the Past’* (Amsterdam: International Institute for Social History, 1997, Research Paper no. 26; electronic version: <http://www.iisg.nl/publications/grimsted.pdf>); revised ed.: *Archives of Russia Seven Years After: ‘Purveyors of Sensations’ or ‘Shadows Cast out to the Past’* (Washington, DC: Cold War International History Project, 1998, Working Paper, no. 20, parts 1 and 2; electronic version: <http://cwihip.si.edu/topics/pubs>). Both editions bring together bibliography of related literature, including considerable press commentary and coverage of the captured archives in Moscow. See also my later 2000 Bad Godesburg conference presentation ‘Archives in the Former Soviet Union Ten Years After: Between Law and Politics; OR, “Still Caught between Political Crossfire and Economic Crisis”’, in *Russische Archive und Geschichtswissenschaft: Rechtsgrundlagen – Arbeitsbedingungen – Forschungsperspektiven*, edited by Stefan Creuzberger, Rainer Lindner (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 51–80; the latter volume provides additional commentary by other conference participants.

² Quite coincidentally, my initial remarks here mesh closely with the ‘oral history’ presented at the ICCEES Stockholm congress opening plenary session with the remarks of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in his letter in absentia and those following the developments of the period of glasnost and perestroika, including Archie Brown and Gorbachev’s interpreter, and American Ambassador Jack Matlock.

³ See my summary account, ‘Tracing “Trophy” Books in Russia’, *Solanus* 19 (2005), pp. 131–45.

⁴ See my article, ‘Displaced Archives and Restitution Problems on the Eastern Front from World War II and its Aftermath’, *Contemporary European History* 6, no. 1 (1997), pp. 27–74, updated and re-edited from earlier versions in *Janus* (1996) and *IISG Research Paper*, no. 18, which documents the references cited and many other press accounts.

⁵ See my first two reports: ‘New US–USSR Archival Commission’, *American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Newsletter* 27, no. 3 (May 1987): 6, 9–10; and ‘US–USSR Archival Commission Update’, *American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Newsletter* 28, no. 5 (November 1988), pp. 13–14.

⁶ *A Handbook for Archival Research in the USSR* (Washington, DC, 1989; published jointly by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies and the International Research & Exchanges Board).

⁷ *Archives in Russia. 1992. A Brief Directory, Part 1: Moscow and St. Petersburg*, 2nd preliminary English version, edited with an Introduction by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted; Foreword by Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov (Moscow, Princeton: International Research & Exchanges Board, September 1992), prepared for the International Congress on Archives (Montreal, 1992), with support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities; 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: IREX, 1993).

⁸ Moscow publication came the following year: *Arkhiy Rossi: Moskva-Sankt-Peterburg: Spravochnik-obozrenie i bibliograficheskii ukazatel’*, compiled by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, Lada Vladimirovna Repulo, and Irina Vladimirovna Tunkina; edited by Mikhail Dmitrievich Afanas’ev, Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov, and Vladimir Semenovitch Sobolev (Moscow: ‘Arkheograficheskii tsentr’, 1997); sponsored by the State Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv), the State Public Historical Library (GPIB), the Historico-Archival Institute of the Russian State University for the Humanities (IAI RGGU), and the St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (PFA RAN).

⁹ *Archives of Russia: A Directory and Bibliographic Guide to Holdings in Moscow and St. Petersburg*, English-language ed., updated and revised and edited with a Preface by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted; Introduction by Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov; compiled by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, Lada Repulo, and Irina Tunkina; edited by Mikhail Dmitrievich Afanas'ev, Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov and Vladimir Semenovich Sobolev, 2 vols (Armonk, NY / London: M. E. Sharpe, 2000).

¹⁰ Patricia Grimsted, 'Russian Archival Directory Published in Moscow and Launched on the Internet', *IREX International Alumni Forum* 1, no. 2 (June 1997), p. 1, pp. 14–16.

¹¹ 'A New Home for ArcheoBiblioBase? The Premier English-Language Directory and Reference Bibliography for Russian Archives and Manuscript Repositories', *AAASS NewsNet* (May 2010), pp. 15–18.

¹² The cluster is published as *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17, no. 2 (2010). A new translation of the law appears as Appendix 1, pp. 413–26. The discussion of archival restitution that follows is drawn from my article, 'Why Do Captured Archives Go Home? Restitution Achievements under the Russian Law', in *IJCP* 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 291–334.

¹³ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Progress in the Return of Displaced Archives from Russia: Steps Forward and Hurdles Ahead', *Art, Antiquity and Law* 15, issue 3 (October 2010), pp. 224–51.

¹⁴ See the article by Konstantin Akinsha, 'Why Can't Private Art "Trophies" Go Home from the War? The Baldin-Bremen Kunsthalle Case: A Cause-Célèbre of German-Russian Restitution Politics', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 257–90.

¹⁵ *Returned from Russia: Nazi Archival Plunder in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues*, Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, F. J. Hoogewoud, and Eric Ketelaar (eds) (Institute of Art and Law [UK], 2007; paper ed. forthcoming, 2011).

¹⁶ See the fond-level description of Austrian archives held in RGVA compiled by Gerhard Jagschitz and Stefan Karner, 'Beuteakten aus Österreich': *Der Österreichbestand im russischen 'Sonderarchiv' Moskau* (Graz, Vienna: Selbstverlag des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung, 1996; = *Veröffentlichungen des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung*, vol. 2). See also *Rukopisi i arkhivnye dokumenty Evreiskoi obshchiny goroda Veny v rossiiskikh sobraniakh. Katalog / Manuscripts and Archival Documents of the Vienna Jewish Community Held in Russian Collections: Catalogue* (Moscow: 'Rudomino', 2006; Proekt Obretennoe nasledie / Project 'Heritage Revealed'); available electronically for a free download (PDF) at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/catalogs/index.html>.

¹⁷ See my earlier discussion of the issue, 'Archival Rossica/Sovietica Abroad – Provenance or Pertinence, Bibliographic and Descriptive Needs', *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 34, no. 3 (1993), pp. 431–80; Russian ed.: 'Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika i Sovetika. Problemy proiskhozhdeniia dokumentov i ikh otnoshenie k istorii Rossii (SSSR), potrebnost' v opisani i bibliografii', *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1993, no. 1, pp. 20–53; and in more depth: 'Russian Attitudes Towards Archival Rossica Abroad: Cultural Reintegration or Political Agendas?', in *Russian and East European Books and Manuscripts in the United States: Proceedings of a Conference in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture*, ed. Tanya Chebotarev and Jared S. Ingersoll (New York, 2004), pp. 107–39; also issued in a serial ed. as: *Slavic & East European Information Resources* 4, no. 4 (2003), pp. 107–39; see also the earlier Russian version from a Rosarkhiv conference in 2000: 'Tsel' vyivleniia zarubezhnoi arkhivnoi Rossiki: Politika ili kul'tura?', in *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika. Itogi i perspektivy vyivleniia i vozvrashcheniia. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 16–17 noiabria 2000 g., Moskva*, ed. V. P. Kozlov and E. E. Novikova (Moscow, 2001; Rosarkhiv, Rossiiskoe obshchestvo istorikov-arkhivistov), pp. 20–39.

¹⁸ 'Fundamental Legislation on Culture of the Russian Federation': Law of the Russian Federation, 9 October 1992, no. 3612-I.

¹⁹ See the guide to Polish holdings in RGVA as well as prerevolutionary records in GARF: *Archiwalia polskiej proweniencji terytorialnej przechowywane w Państwowym archiwum Federacji Rosyjskiej i Rosyjskim państwowym archiwum wojskowym*, ed. Władysław Stępnia (Warsaw: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 2000). See also the catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts from Breslau: *Katalog rukopisei i arkhivnykh materialov iz Evreiskoi teologicheskoi seminarii goroda Breslau / Catalogue of Manuscripts and Archival Materials of Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau* (Moscow: 'Rudomino', 2003); available electronically for a free download (PDF) at <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/catalogs/index.html>.

²⁰ Among the most extensive description of Jewish archival holdings in RGVA is *Dokumenty po istorii i kul'ture evreev v trofeinykh kollekttsiakh Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo voennogo arkhiva*, compiled and edited by V. N. Kuzelenkov, M. S. Kupovetskii and David E. Fishman (Moscow, 2005; Rosarkhiv; RGGU; RGVA; Jewish Theological Seminary of America; YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, a publication of the 'Project Judaica'); an updated English edition is forthcoming: David E. Fishman, Mark Kupovetsky and Vladimir Kuzelenkov (eds), *Nazi-Looted Jewish Archives in Moscow: A Guide to Jewish Historical and Cultural Collections in the Russian State Military Archive* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, forthcoming early 2011).

Russian Archives Abroad: Safe Havens, Safe Returns?

Elena S. Danielson

Eminent Russians have played a key role in the international agreements to protect endangered cultural heritage such as archives.¹ In 1874 Alexander II convened the international conference that produced the influential Brussels Declaration, which included language in article 8 about the protection of works of art and science in times of war.² The Russian diplomat Fedor F. Martens made key contributions to the evolution of international norms, as did Foreign Minister Mikhail N. Murav'ev. Nicholas II convened the conference that produced the landmark 1907 Hague Convention.³ Primarily concerned with protecting human rights in time of war, the convention includes, in articles 23 and 56, protection of educational institutions including historic monuments and works of art and science. The émigré artist, orientalist, and amateur archeologist Nicholas Roerich was responsible for the 1935 Washington Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments, signed by President Roosevelt and ratified by the US Congress.⁴ Russians were instrumental in linking provisions for protecting cultural heritage with securing basic human rights in times of war and crisis. It is part of the Russian intellectual heritage to value such works including endangered archives.

While traditionally diplomats have concerned themselves with the return of official archives carried off by invaders, such as portions of the Smolensk archives seized in World War II and returned in 2002,⁵ cultural property in the form of personal papers and manuscripts have long been subject to dispute as well. In the 20th century, millions of displaced persons, refugees, and exiles generated a huge body of cultural materials that reflected the experience of immigration and exile. A prime example is the sprawling collection of personal papers from many sources assembled by émigré Menshevik and archivist extraordinaire Boris I. Nicolaevsky.⁶ This large body of diverse materials documents the political battles of the Russian emigration. The concept of archival cultural property has expanded to include these vulnerable treasures as well. Despite sporadically intensive study in recent years, definitive scholarly analysis of these rich resources has really yet to be done. For much of the 20th century, war and revolution

battered the Russian émigrés and dispersed their archives and papers. For two decades after the fall of communism, restitution claims and counter claims continued to batter Russian archives abroad.⁷ As a working archivist, I have watched solutions to these restitution controversies gradually emerge.

From the time of the Russian Revolution and Civil War up through perestroika, the task for archivists holding Russian archives and manuscripts outside of the Soviet Union was deceptively simple: to collect and preserve as much of the Russian heritage abroad as possible. These artifacts include fragmentary personal papers, scraps of official archives, stray pamphlets, mimeographed camp newspapers, and many items of unclear significance. The heterogeneous materials stranded outside Russian borders include diplomatic files that tsarist era statesmen were unwilling to see fall into the hands of a regime they did not recognize as legitimate. There are also the writings of the émigrés who established communities in Australia, China, Europe, Latin America and the United States. Loss, in its various forms, is a continuous theme. Some elements preserve the remnants of a lost aristocratic world; others preserve the radical views of the communist factions that lost out in various power struggles. Often these Russians saw their papers as the remains of a culture that was lost in its former homeland.

The Twin Mandates of Preservation and Equal Access

Preserving the evidence of these losses is one mandate for archivists. The other is providing equal access for all scholars, and this opens up the records for unexpected uses. Beyond their value for social history and nostalgia, the papers were used for more practical purposes. For much of the 20th century these scraps of history provided the main clues in the west to a closed society and its history. Even tiny shreds of history were saved as the possible missing pieces of a bigger puzzle. In the United States, two of the largest repositories of Russian archives and manuscripts abroad, the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University and the Bakhmeteff Archive at Columbia University, supplied scholars with glimpses of Soviet history as refracted through the perspective of émigrés such as Nicolaevsky, whose collection was long the most heavily used at the Hoover Archives.

The archivists responsible for these materials often felt a keen responsibility as ‘keepers of the flame’, entrusted with preserving the Russians’ history ‘for them’, in anticipation of a vague future time whenever they joined the world community of scholars. Occasionally the donor agreements had explicit

clauses for restitution if a democratic regime were to be re-established in the homeland.⁸ These clauses, though vague, sometimes appeared in donor agreements both for official papers and also for private papers produced primarily abroad. The clauses were idealistic in that home countries had not always been scrupulously democratic prior to communism. As an archivist charged with protecting émigré heritage, my primary concern was facilitating and maximizing research use so that the history of the emigration would be better understood. Use expanded into unexpected areas. Open and equitable access is the guiding principle for archivists in democratic societies. I also shared the view that our calling was to preserve these materials for the culture that produced it. This view was put to the test during perestroika, when Russian society unexpectedly did in fact begin to behave in ways the west recognized as 'normal'. Perestroika forced the issue of whether to 'return' Russian archives and manuscripts to the motherland.

Pressures to Transfer Archives and Papers after Perestroika

The code of ethics of the International Council on Archives mandates, in section 2, that 'Archivists should cooperate in the repatriation of displaced archives.'⁹ Nonetheless, surrendering carefully preserved materials is not a part of their psychology. Archivists collect and preserve. On both coasts, archivists started to examine deeds of gift and see distinctions. Nearly all of the Boris I. Nicolaevsky collection at the Hoover Archives, including the extraordinary Trotsky papers, were produced in a wide range of geographical locations, almost all of them outside of Soviet or Russian borders. They could not be returned to Russia since they had never been there. Most, but not all, of the other materials were also private property, the ownership of which is determined by the legal title. Only the legal owner could transfer title. Even the official government archives abroad had complications, such as Russian-language records preserved and generated by stranded consulates with the financial support of the United States government. Who actually owned these archives? As an archivist, my naïve viewpoint expanded to appreciate émigré papers as an essential part of American culture, a nation created by immigrant families. The once simple task of preserving archival Rossica abroad for the homeland became complicated by the events of 1991 when the prospect was no longer abstract.

The venerable Bakhmeteff Archive was pressured on several occasions, primarily in 2002, to repatriate the Semenovskii Regiment Papers, the

Izmailovskii Regiment Papers, and the Imperial Corps of Pages Papers. Each collection had a different donor agreement, each of which the director of the archive examined in great detail. She concluded that repatriating any of these collections would violate the donor agreement or deed of gift.¹⁰ Vladimir Putin visited the Bakhmeteff Archive in 2003. Even though American contract law tenaciously protects private ownership, the pressure was intense.

Professional archivists were not sure what to do: Graciously send things back to the source culture without questions? Bill the homeland for storage and maintenance costs? Examine all the legal loopholes? Protect the status quo? Work out sharing arrangements? Establish exchanges? Improvising under time pressure, I tried several of these approaches, and found them all inadequate. As professionals used to implementing rules, archivists wanted a well-grounded, definitive solution. First we went back to basic principles such as provenance.

The Basic Principle of Provenance

In archival theory, provenance is the basis of context and integrity, and the place to begin investigating the proper disposition of archives. Generally speaking, the guidelines for appropriate placement follow common sense using this principle of provenance. Inactive official government papers belong in the archives of that government or its legal successor, even if borders shift. Archives follow the flag, according to Ernst Posner, the doyen of American archival theory.¹¹ Many legal experts consider government records inalienable in that they cannot be legally transferred to another owner other than the sovereign state that produced them.¹² Local history archives belong in the geographical area that created them. Special interest archives belong with sympathetic organizations. Archives are best served in the linguistic community of the main language in which they are written. Cultural heritage generally belongs in the culture that produced it, or its closest successor.

Another basic principle is the distinction between private papers and government records. This distinction is understood somewhat differently in the United States than in Europe and Russia. Most Americans see private papers as private property that can be bought and sold. The International Council on Archives and various international agreements, such as the 1970 UNESCO Convention, allow for the 'nationalization' of private papers

with national significance, once the materials have been identified as such and placed under publicly recognized protection. The United States is a signatory of the 1970 convention.¹³ There is no provision for nationalizing papers created outside the national boundaries, although some archivists make this assumption.

How do these basic principles apply to Russian archives and papers abroad? Do the papers belong to the linguistic community that was the original source of the emigration or to the country that provided sanctuary over generations? Archivists are adept at following instructions, even complex ones. There was considerable study of these issues, and a search for definitive solutions. Two decades after perestroika, it is possible to evaluate the disposition of displaced culture in an expanded theoretical framework, and two American archivists have enlarged the concept of provenance to include place and ethnicity.

Official Archives and the Provenance of Place

Jeanette Bastien has developed a concept of 'provenance of place' based on an example in the Caribbean. Denmark and the United States removed official government archives from the Virgin Islands during decolonization, and the Virgin Islands lost their history. Government archives belong to the government that created them. This action was formally correct, but left the Virgin Islands bereft of their own history. The remedy is jointly held archives, by means of surrogate copies, whether on paper or in digital formats. The need for shared cultural heritage has long been recognized as a valid concept. The Treaty of Westphalia from 1648 has provisions for making copies of archives if needed when borders shift. Certainly with current scanning technology it is relatively easy to share content across borders although that does not take into account the artifactual or trophy value of original archives. Russian émigrés added a great deal to the communities they joined in New York, San Francisco and Paris, and their papers are part of the histories of those communities and can be seen as joint heritage. The tsarist Russian diplomatic files stranded in the United States and Canada contain the story of the great Jewish immigration to North America at the turn of the 20th century, definitely in the category of shared cultural heritage. Émigré archives, like colonial archives, belong to a place different from the official homeland.¹⁴ Provenance of place would suggest certain exceptions to the concept of the inviolability of government

records, in that consulate papers generated in the United States with US support about US citizens should remain readily accessible in the US in one format or another.

Private Papers and Provenance of Ethnicity

Displaced archives mirror the layered identity of émigrés and layered identity of their papers. Estonian papers, for example, have been deposited at the Minnesota Immigration History Center, as part of the history of that state and its ethnic enclaves. Joel Wurl, who served as director of the centre, makes a strong case that émigré archives belong with the community that provided refuge, not the country that forced people to leave. The papers reflect a dual identity and the ethnic mix that created the community. An independent Estonia has persuaded some groups to place émigré papers in the archives in Tallinn, including materials that had been created in the United States. Wurl's concept of a 'provenance of ethnicity', specifically a provenance of layered ethnicity, counters the provenance of the linguistic homeland.¹⁵

Provenance as ethnicity and provenance as linguistic identity diverge over time as families assimilate and succeeding generations switch languages: a point used in justifying transfer of ethnic Russian materials abroad to Russia, where the majority of scholars can actually read the language.¹⁶ Yet, on the other hand, Russians immigrants, from scientists like Igor Sikorsky, to writers like Vladimir Nabokov, to Hollywood actors like Yul Brynner, all contributed a great deal to American social history. Russian immigrants are part of the American story.

These two expanded principles of 'provenance of place' and 'provenance of ethnicity' provide room for a more differentiated and nuanced judgement on the proper disposition of émigré archives, particularly archival Rossica abroad.

First perestroika and then the disintegration of the Soviet Union precipitated intense discussions of these issues. But they are not entirely new problems. Four examples serve as snapshots of the situation prior to perestroika.

(I) One pre-war case of forced repatriation may have occurred in Paris in 1936. In a still rather mysterious operation, the Soviet security services broke into the offices of Boris Nicolaevsky, located at 7 rue Michelet, Paris, on 6 November 1936.¹⁷ Nicolaevsky was working as the Paris representative

of the International Institute of Social History and was collecting materials for the famous Dutch repository. Whatever actually happened, the émigré community adamantly believed that the Soviet secret police burgled the IISH branch library and stole the papers of Lev Trotsky. The exact nature of the materials in question and their current location are still unclear.

(2) At the end of World War II, the Russian émigré collection in Prague was transferred to the Soviet Union with the official agreement of the Czechoslovak government. Certainly the Russian émigré community was not entirely in accord with this action.¹⁸ The collection is known as the Russian Foreign Historical Archive, Prague (*Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv* or RZIA using its Russian acronym). Much of the materials are now in the State Archives of the Russian Federation (*Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* or GARF), while other components have been distributed in various other Russian repositories.

(3) About the same time the archives of the Russian Synod Abroad (1921–1945) were seized by Soviet authorities, in this case without an official agreement. These ecclesiastical records had been entirely produced outside the Soviet Union, so it was not a ‘return’ in the usual sense.

(4) Later there were apparently efforts at claiming Russian-language materials abroad in the 1970s following the International Council on Archives resolutions on restitution, published in Bulletin #7, October 1976 and October 1977. On 8 June 1978, the Main Archival Administration of the USSR (*Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie* or *Glavarkhiv*) issued a formal request through the United States State Department for the ‘return’ or transfer of certain Russian materials in the United States. The request did not produce results.¹⁹ At least not right away.

It was perestroika that initially reopened more serious discussions, especially for official government archives abroad. Inspired by the more liberal atmosphere in Moscow, the Hoover Institution began considering microfilm exchanges as early as 1988.²⁰ At the same time, the US National Archives was also watching developments with keen interest. With Russia joining the community of nations in a more open and democratic way, the objections to repatriation lost credibility and were replaced by enthusiasm for encouraging the new forces for change in Russia. The most obvious archival candidate for repatriation was the tsarist diplomatic records that were divided between the US National Archives and Hoover Institution Archives.

How the tsarist-era diplomatic collection came to be split between Washington and California is a dramatic story.²¹ The drama began on the

evening of 16 November 1933. The agreement between Franklin Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov to extend American diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union would take effect within a few hours. United States troops entered the old tsarist embassy building at 1125 Sixteenth Street NW in Washington D.C., just as the building was to be handed over to the Soviet Union as the successor government to Imperial Russia. The troops removed 500 packing crates and stored them in a facility owned by the State Department. About 100 crates contained imperial consular archives. Not all of the tsarist diplomatic papers were in the hands of the State Department. In 1933 embassy attaché Sergei Ughet delivered extensive files to the Hoover Institution at Stanford University for safe keeping.²² The official tsarist diplomatic files were essentially split between Stanford and Washington and were to be retained indefinitely. While the reasoning behind this division is not documented, internal evidence suggests that 'the consular records were left to the US government because they did not contain any sensitive information.'²³ The embassy records entrusted to the Hoover Archives in California contained personal data on White Russians, who feared retaliation. The records are a mix of pre-revolutionary consular and embassy files as well as the records generated by the offices that continued to function after the Russian Revolution without official connections to the homeland. (There is a mirror collection, American diplomatic files stranded in Russia by the Revolution. Some of these American files were retrieved from Soviet Russia in the 1930s with minimal obstruction.²⁴ The Soviet authorities seem to have recognized the US claims to their diplomatic papers without demanding reciprocity.)

Sixteen years after the seizure of the Russian records in Washington, in 1949, American legal counsel determined that the tsarist files in State Department custody legally belonged to the United States and the files were transferred to the US National Archives as record group 261.3 *Records of Imperial Russian Consulates in the United States and Canada, 1844–1929*. The main considerations were that the former Imperial Russian consulates had been largely funded by the United States after 1917, and also that the files had been in American hands for over a decade already. The Hoover Institution likewise claimed title to the Russian archives in its custody. The deeds of gift and related contracts signed by the exiled émigrés were held to be legally binding in perpetuity.

Over the years these Russian diplomatic papers were gradually acknowledged, catalogued, and preserved both in California and in Washington.

The files in the National Archives came from seven consular offices in the United States and three in Canada. Consular files were consolidated in the Washington embassy in the late 1920s. The more extensive files at Hoover included the Washington, D.C., embassy files.²⁵

What happened next occurred during a shift in perceptions about international law. What is the legal disposition of displaced government records, particularly diplomatic files? From 1648, with the Treaty of Westphalia that ended the 30 Years War, until the twentieth century, the ownership of government record followed an easy formula, archives follow the flag. With changes in sovereignty and borders, the disposition of government records was routinely included in peace treaties. The 20th century overturned this neat paradigm. To compensate, during the course of the 20th century a series of increasingly meaningful international conventions was passed to strengthen the protection of cultural property, including archives. One of the first was included in the 1907 Hague IV Convention, which was signed and ratified by the United States. Also of note is the well-written Roerich Pact of 1935, also signed and ratified by the United States. The Russian painter Roerich had developed an interest in cultural property from his study of archeological and folklore objects. The ban on seizing foreign archives was mostly ignored, as the legal ruling of 1949 indicates. The 1907 Hague convention seemed to be going the way of the 1928 Kellogg Briand Pact that outlawed war itself. In 1954 the United States participated in a fresh attempt with a new international Hague Convention to protect cultural property during wartime. The convention has a protocol with language requiring the return of archives displaced by war. The same protocol bans the use of cultural property as reparations.²⁶ The United States encouraged scores of nations to sign on. The United States signed off on the text in 1954, and for decades American officials stated publicly that they considered the terms binding. Because of Cold War concerns, the US Senate failed to ratify the 1954 Hague treaty on displaced archives until October 2008, some 54 years later.

In between, UNESCO stepped in to protect cultural property from illegal export in times of peace as well as war. The non-retroactive 1970 UNESCO Convention, signed and ratified by the United States, is now the 'bright line' used by many museums in avoiding restitution claims. The formal text and detailed information on implementation are available on the US State Department website.²⁷ There is an attempt to use 1970 as an informal 'statute of limitations'. Materials alienated from the country of

origin after 1970 are subject to more intense scrutiny as to legal ownership and the methods of export.²⁸ Whether this 1970 dividing-line will be used for archives as well as antiquities is yet to be seen. It would not necessarily apply to official papers, which are seen as inalienable and inviolable. In 1978 UNESCO and the International Council on Archives (ICA) began applying protective measures to government documents which they considered inalienable, and displacement of them not subject to a statute of limitations. Not always addressed was the fate of the archives created abroad by exiles, refugees, and displaced persons.

By the 1970s there was a growing discrepancy between the consensus on the proper disposition of Russian archives abroad and the reality. This discrepancy would play itself out in an elaborate dance over the next thirty years. Funding for preservation microfilming in the 1980s and the advent of digital copies in the 1990s accelerated the debate as the concept of backup copies and surrogate use copies entered the discussion.

In the late 1980s both Hoover and the Russian archives were microfilming collections for preservation purposes. Hoover relied heavily on grant money from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Okhrana archives, tsarist-era secret police files surreptitiously shipped to Hoover in 1926 from the Russian embassy in Paris, were among the first Russian collections filmed. While the original purpose was preservation, it became relatively inexpensive to print use copies once a good quality preservation master was available. Since the Russian archivists were also microfilming their collections, Hoover archivist Charles Palm together with Hoover Institution director W. Glenn Campbell began sending feelers to the Soviet archives about possible exchanges of microfilm copies in 1988. Nothing came of the initial requests.

The US National Archives Solution

At the same time, there was increased interest in the Russian consular records at the National Archives. NARA (the National Archives and Records Administration) was sensitive to the UNESCO and ICA discussions and began to reevaluate the legal status of the collection 261.3, *The Records of the Imperial Russian Consulates in the United States and Canada, 1844–1929*. Accepted international practice began to tilt in the direction of restitution and repatriation just as Gorbachev's policy of glasnost made return of records to a more open Russian society politically acceptable. NARA proceeded

in a very logical and orderly fashion. The idea of return began to gain traction. Much of the consular business had to do with the massive Jewish emigration from Russia to the United States at the turn of the 20th century. There were extensive files on individual visa requests. American genealogists compiled an index of Jewish surnames based on the original records.²⁹ Next, the consulate records from Montreal, Vancouver and Halifax that had been transferred to the Washington embassy decades earlier were loaned to Canada, where preservation microfilms were produced. The originals were then returned to United States custody. The National Archives made a high quality microfilm copy of the seven US consulate archives. Between the Canadian and American records, 263 rolls of microfilm were produced.

Replevin was in the air. Several factors were at work. For the US National Archives the principle of the inalienability of government records trumped the 1949 legal decision that the United States had acquired legal title. Returning the records was also mandated by admittedly unenforceable, but increasingly influential, international law. The Soviet Union under Gorbachev was opening Soviet archives for research on an unprecedented scale. But the factor that clinched the deal was the preservation microfilm that meant the record could not be withdrawn or altered. The copies satisfied the requirement for shared cultural heritage. In January 1990 Don Wilson, Archivist of the United States, oversaw the return of the original consular records to the Soviet Union. These are official government records, as such now generally considered inalienable by the International Council on Archives. Repatriation was based on the principle of provenance, with the USSR as the recognized successor to the sovereign state that created the records. It was the right thing to do, and the microfilm meant it was also a reasonable thing to do.

NARA was following the precedent set by the so-called 'monuments men' of World War II who ensured that displaced archives were preserved and returned. Non-German archives found by the Anglo-American troops were returned to the country of origin without copies being made. An exception was made for Jewish archives that were transferred to Jewish organizations rather than the country of origin. The Anglo-Americans made extensive microfilms of the captured German archives and returned the originals to the country they recognized as the legitimate successor government, i.e. West Germany. NARA widely marketed the microfilm over the years, originally at a minimal price easily within the reach of researchers. NARA still sells these reels of film, now at \$85 each. The Americans saw these policies as an

enlightened way to expose the crimes of the Nazi era without permanently retaining the archives of a sovereign state. The Germans perceived the opening of their archives by the victors and the selling of copies as a violation of their sovereignty and a consequence of defeat. After World War II the Germans were both unwilling and unable to precipitate a diplomatic crisis over the captured German records, but the fact that they were microfilmed by the victors and their history was marketed did register as an affront.³⁰ All in all, it was not a bad solution to make a security copy and return the originals. NARA successfully reapplied this template in dealing with the Russian consular records in 1990.

The Hoover Archives Solution

The Hoover Institution was also interested in repatriation of Russian history. Instead of returning originals and keeping microfilm security copies as 'insurance', the Hoover Institution Archives under Charles Palm adopted a different strategy, but one that was also notably generous. The collections were processed relying heavily on funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. One of the big advantages of this filming project was the file level processing that created accurate registers to the materials for the first time. The newly accessible originals would be retained in California but the film surrogates would support the exchange for copies from the Russian archives, known to be filming as well. For Hoover returning originals was not an option. The Russian collection was at the core of the Hoover mission since its founding and title was defined by binding contracts. One could argue that the Hoover archives, as a cultural site where the materials had been gathered and preserved for decades, constituted provenance of place. Few of the papers had actually ever been in the Soviet Union or Russia. The presence of a large Russian émigré community in the San Francisco Bay area constituted a kind of provenance of ethnicity.

On 29 May 1991, shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Hoover signed an agreement with Rudolf Pikhoia, the head of the archives of the Russian Republic, not yet the head of the archives of the former Soviet Union. One provision of the agreement was the exchange of copies of documents on an equal basis. Microfilm was not specified in the agreement, but it was clearly the basis of the agenda. Unlike the National Archives programme of repatriation, there was no discussion of returning originals. And, unlike the National Archives programme, Hoover wanted something in exchange.

When communism collapsed and, as Yeltsin's archivist, Pikhoia took charge of all the Russian archives, at least in theory, the Hoover-Rosarkhiv exchange went into full gear. It became the target of intense controversy.³¹ The exchange was termed 'temple prostitution' and the Americans were called 'goats in the garden', among other colourful epithets. The exchange programme was eventually trimmed back by Duma legislation in 1995, and exchanges were cut back to just one repository: the State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF). Two others, RGASPI and RGANI, abruptly cancelled participation. Despite the curtailment and despite the bad publicity, the results were impressive: 10,000 rolls of microfilm of the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State.³² The Russians received in exchange film of their embassy records and Russian émigré papers, including the Trotsky papers in the Boris I. Nicolaevsky collection, a topic of interest since at least 1936. While Hoover spent millions on the microfilm project, Alexander Yakovlev expressed a widely held opinion when he said the Russians 'sold the film too cheaply'.³³ Pikhoia's successor, V. P. Kozlov, had deep reservations about the microfilm exchange from the beginning and openly explained his views.³⁴ The films have been widely used as the basis for countless publications in both Russia and the United States. Research use is the justification for the modern archival enterprise.

At an exhibition, 'Returned Rossica', in November 2000, sponsored by Rosarkhiv in Moscow, there were prints produced from the microfilmed Trotsky manuscripts from the Nicolaevsky collection. Also on display was the contract for the microfilm project. The exhibition was held in conjunction with a Rosarkhiv conference entitled 'Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika. Itogi i perspektivy vyivleniia i vozvrashcheniia'. The microfilm was recognized as repatriated culture. The microfilm agreement between Hoover and Rosarkhiv was proudly displayed in 2000. It was not a bad solution, especially for private papers and manuscripts.

The Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco

While the US National Archives returned originals and the Hoover Institution repatriated copies in an exchange agreement, a hybrid arrangement has taken place with the holdings of the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco. The MRC was established at the end of World War II to preserve endangered émigré materials. The Soviet acquisition of the Prague émigré archives (RZIA) served as a cautionary tale that Russian émigré

papers were vulnerable, not just to loss, but also to perceived adversaries. Half a century later, the San Francisco émigré community began to look for partners in preserving its heritage. In 1999–2000 microfilm copies of 85 key MRC collections were produced with funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities and sponsorship by the Hoover Institution. The MRC films were used by the Hoover Archives, with written permission, in its exchange with GARF. Since 2004, GARF has regularly sent archivists to the Russian Museum in San Francisco to assist in processing and cataloguing the holdings, particularly the unfilmed materials. On 30 December 2005 a large shipment of materials was sent from the MRC in San Francisco to GARF in Moscow. The shipment consisted primarily of émigré books and newspapers, but it also included some manuscripts. At the May 2010 meeting of the MRC an announcement was made that shipments to Russia had been suspended and replaced by an extensive scanning project in order to create a shared cultural heritage.³⁵ The potential for exchanging digital use copies may supplement the transfer of originals and microfilm copies. This hybrid solution permits the local Russian community in San Francisco to retain many original items as artifacts and relics of family histories, and still share the intellectual content with the Russian homeland.

An Array of Approaches

Instead of a single approach to the problem, each repository seems to have required its own solution. The Tolstoy Foundation is self-sufficiently preserving its own remarkable heritage. Other archives have other approaches. Of particular interest are the numerous memoirs written at the request of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, carefully collected by him, and now preserved in the Russian Abroad Library and Foundation, a rapidly growing archive. The Society of Russian Culture in France and the Society for the Preservation of Russian Cultural Treasures Abroad transferred archives to the Russian Abroad Library and Foundation in 2004. The Jordanville / Holy Trinity Seminary in New York, like the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco, received, with Hoover Archives sponsorship, a preservation grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, one of the last of its microfilm projects. The microfilm will enable a process of shared cultural heritage. On 17 September 2010 GARF exchanged copies of collections with the Holy Trinity Seminary in Jordanville, New York. The Dean of Holy Trinity Seminary, Vladimir Tsurikov, received copies of documents

of the Russian Synod Abroad, which had been seized by Soviet authorities at the end of World War II. The Rodina Archive of Howell, New Jersey, was dispersed among various archives in Russia in the late 1990s. Regrettably some collections have simply been lost or destroyed without proper evaluation. The archives of the Circle of Russian Culture and the National Russian Student Christian Association were discarded after the death of the last custodian. The story continues as each archival repository rethinks the best disposition of its cultural property. The Kadet Society of Russian Kadets Abroad held a meeting, its 21st convention in Serbia from 24 June to 3 July 2010. Members are scattered throughout the United States, Canada, France, South America and Australia. Most members, and their archives, are concentrated in San Francisco and New York. The organization passed an official resolution to cooperate with the Russian Abroad Library and Foundation.³⁶

Just as archives are unique historical expressions, each collection requires a specific evaluation as to the best disposition of its holdings. There is no universal solution. It is not in the end an either/or question of 'safe havens' or 'safe returns'. Some materials are best served by entrusting them to the care of trusted Russian repositories. Other collections are best left in place and not subjected to relocation. When aging émigré communities are no longer able to care for their materials, local archives may have the linguistic talent and financial ability to step in and preserve the records as an essential part of local history. Photocopies, microfilm and scanning projects serve the goal of shared heritage. Repatriating culture, either as originals or use copies, is an important process for any collection of émigré materials.

The Mandate for Equitable Access

Collections are protected and preserved for a purpose. In the detailed discussions of provenance and the best disposition of émigré papers, it is essential to include discussion of the other great mandate of the archival profession, which is research use. The decisions need to be made within the context of open and equitable access, the ideal in democratic societies. The one principle that should not be compromised is the mandate for maximum accessibility. With the advent of digitization, the location of the original papers is less important than their ready availability for use by all interested researchers from the international scholarly community without unnecessary obstacles such as use fees, long waits for delivery, difficulties securing

copies, or discrimination against certain categories of readers. Access should be one of the main criteria in determining the best disposition of original archives and associated use copies. There is no point in preserving Russian émigré archives unless they are readily available for free use without prior censorship or outside control. The availability of use copies in different locations, especially in different countries, helps to facilitate access. Availability on the internet opens up a new world of research. Perhaps the concept of provenance needs to be tempered and expanded once again. The demands of place, language and ethnicity need to be met with a provision for equitable access to shared resources. These strategies provide for safe havens as well as the return of content to the Russian homeland in an environment that promotes research. The emerging solutions build on the rich tradition of protecting endangered archives established by Russians from Alexander II, to Nicholas II, to Nicolaevsky, and to Roerich.

Endnotes

¹ Wayne Sandholtz, *Prohibiting Plunder: How Norms Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. See pages 84, 87–88, 90, 93–96, 122–23, 256, 266.

² The text of the 1874 Brussels Declaration is available on the website of the International Committee of the Red Cross at <http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/INTRO/135?OpenDocument> (accessed 2010). This international agreement was never fully ratified, but the provisions influenced later conventions, especially the linkage of protecting cultural property along with protecting human rights in time of war.

³ The International Council on Archives (ICA) compiled a useful 'Reference Dossier on Archival Claims' that surveys the various international legal texts. This compilation is available on the website of the ICA at <http://www.ica.org/en/node/39083> (accessed 2010).

⁴ The text of the Roerich Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments can be found at http://www.roerich.org/nr_RPact.html (accessed 2010).

⁵ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Smolensk Archive: Plundered Communist Records for the Service of Anti-Communism*. Pittsburgh, PA: The Center for Russian & East European Studies, University of Pittsburg, 1995.

⁶ The register for the Boris I. Nicolaevsky collection in the Hoover Archives is available at the Online Archive of California: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf7290056t/>.

⁷ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Russian Attitudes Towards Archival Rossica Abroad: Cultural Reintegration or Political Agenda?', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, vol. 4, nr. 4, 2003. See also Grimsted, 'Archival Rossica/Sovietica Abroad: Provenance or Pertinence: Bibliographic and Descriptive Needs', *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, vol. 34, nr. 3, July–September 1993.

⁸ One example is the papers of exiled Tsarist General Evgeny Miller, who vanished from Paris in 1937. The Paris National Archives preserved his papers until the fall of communism, and then transferred them to the Russia Abroad Foundation Library.

⁹ The text is available on the ICA website: <http://www.ica.org/en/node/37328> (accessed 2010).

¹⁰ Tanya Chebotarev, 'Repatriation of the Bakhmeteff Archive: Russian Dreams and American Reality', *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage*, vol. 6, nr. 1, 20 March 2005.

¹¹ Ernst Posner, 'Effects of Changes of Sovereignty on Archives', reprinted in *Archives and the Public Interest: Selected Essays by Ernst Posner*, Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2006. See pages 168–181.

¹² Op. cit., 'Reference Dossier on Archival Claims', pages 27 and 45.

¹³ The text is available on the US State Department website: <http://exchanges.state.gov/heritage/culprop.html>.

¹⁴ Jeanette Bastien, 'A Question of Custody: The Colonial Archives of the United States Virgin Islands', *American Archivist*, vol. 64, nr. 1, 2001: 96–114, and *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost its Archives and Found its History*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2003.

¹⁵ Joel Wurl, 'Ethnicity as Provenance: In Search of Values and Principles for Documenting the Immigrant Experiences', *Archival Issues*, vol. 29, nr. 1, 2005: 66–75, also Wurl, 'Documenting Displacement: The Migration of Archival Sources From Post WWII East European Émigré Groups', *Archival Science*, vol. 5, 2005: 79–92.

¹⁶ Victor Moskvina, Director of the Russian Abroad Foundation Library, on the Russian diaspora: 'Often their descendants have assimilated, and they don't speak Russian anymore. So they don't know the value of what their grandmothers and grandfathers left behind.' Quoted by Alexander Osipovich, 'No Place Like Home', *The Moscow Times*, 2 September 2005, <http://context.themoscowtimes.com/stories/2005/09/02/101.html> (accessed 2010).

¹⁷ Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB*. New York: Basic Books, 1999: 71. See also Dale Reed and Michael Jakobson, 'Trosky Papers at the Hoover Institution: One Chapter in an Archival Mystery Story', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 92, no. 2, April 1987: 363–375.

¹⁸ George Fischer, 'The Russian Archive in Prague', *American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1949: 289–295. Many documents from the Prague collection are preserved today in Moscow in the Federal Archives of the Russian Federation, GARF. See also *Fondy Russkogo Zagranichnogo istoricheskogo arkhiva v Prage: Mezkharkhivnyi putevoditel'*. Compiled by O. N. Kopylova, et al., edited by T. F. Pavlova, et al. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1999.

¹⁹ Hoover Institution Records, box 2938, used with permission.

²⁰ Hoover Institution Records (note 19).

²¹ This account is taken from the National Archives and Records Administration website, <http://www.archives.gov/microfilm/m1486.pdf> (accessed 2010). See also John H. Brown, 'The Disappearing Russian Embassy Archives, 1922–1949', *Prologue*, vol. 14, no. 1, Spring 1982.

²² Ughet's gift added to other Tsarist diplomatic records acquired from Europe as diplomatic recognition was extended to the Soviet Union by Germany and France. In 1926, under conditions of great secrecy, Vasilii Maklakov, an admirer of Herbert Hoover, transferred an extensive set of records from the Tsarist embassy in Paris, including the files of the security police, to the Hoover Institution, where they were kept hidden for thirty years. In 1928–29 émigré leader Sergei Botkin, based in Berlin, transferred records from Tsarist legations in Württemberg, Weimar, and Hesse. General Golovin, a Hoover curator based in Paris, collected the papers of various White Russian military units. The jewel in the Hoover crown and a source of great pride was the Okhrana, files of the Tsarist era secret political police office in the Paris embassy, a hoard of files kept in secrecy for three decades until after the death of the donor, Maklakov in exile in Switzerland. The collection was opened with fanfare and publicity on 30 October 1957. Initial processing was done in a locked wire cage in an

effort to prevent theft of the materials. For details on the Russian collections at the Hoover Archives see Bertrand M. Patenaude, *A Wealth of Ideas: Revelations from the Hoover Institution Archives*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.

²³ Anatol Shmelev, 'Russians in the Repositories', *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, vol. 7, no. 2-3, October 2006: 5.

²⁴ David Langbart on retrieval of US diplomatic records from Soviet Russia after revolution, 'No Little Historic Value: The Records of State Posts in Revolutionary Russia', *Prologue*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2008.

²⁵ The registers are available via the Online Archive of California: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/institutions/Hoover+Institution>. Relevant collection titles include: Russia. Konsul'stvo (Breslau, Germany) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf1v19n542/>); Russia. Konsul'stvo (Leipzig, Germany) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf9k4006zk/>); Russia. Legatsiia (Hesse, Germany) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf267n98pg/>); Russia. Legatsiia (Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Germany) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf5489n777/>); Russia. Legatsiia (Wuerttemberg, Germany) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf1xon986h/>); Russia. Missiia (Greece) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf3v19n6b8/>); Russia. Missiia (Norway) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf967nb3f2/>); Russia. Posol'stvo (France) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf5v19n7s3/>); Russia. Posol'stvo (US) Records (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf1r29n4t8/>).

²⁶ The text of the 'Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict adopted at The Hague, 14 May 1954', can be found on the website of the International Council on Archives, <http://www.ica.org/en/node/39083>. For a detailed analysis see Jiri Toman, *The Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict: Commentary on the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its Protocol, Signed on 14 May, 1954 in the Hague, and on Other Instruments of International Law Concerning Such Protection*, Aldershot; Brookfield, VT: Dartmouth / UNESCO, 1996. See also Jiri Toman, *Cultural Property in War: Commentary on the 1999 Second Protocol to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, Paris: UNESCO, 2009.

²⁷ UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property: <http://exchanges.state.gov/heritage/culprop/background.html>.

²⁸ After several widely publicized restitution battles, the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles announced on 26 October 2006 that it had revised its acquisition policies. The museum adopted 1970, the date of the UNESCO Convention, as the key date. Materials that left their homeland after 1970 would require much more extensive documentation on the legality of the export than items that left their homeland or were already in the US prior to 1970. See http://www.getty.edu/news/press/center/revised_acquisition_policy.

²⁹ Sallyann Amdur Sack and Suzan Fisher Wynne, *The Russian Consular Records Index and Catalog*, New York / London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987.

³⁰ Astrid M. Eckert, *Kampf um die Akten: die Westalliierten und die Rückgabe von deutschem Archivgut nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004.

³¹ For one example of the criticism see Yuri Afanasiev, 'Proizvol' v obrashchenii s obshchestvennoi pamiat'iu nedopustim' (Arbitrariness in the treatment of our collective memory is impermissible), *Izvestiia*, no. 58, 9 March 1992.

³² Elena S. Danielson, 'A Revolution in the Russian Archives', report posted on the website of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. See http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/docs/CWIHP_Special_Report.pdf.

³³ Alexander Yakovlev to Elena Danielson, recorded in author's diary, November 1996.

³⁴ V. P. Kozlov, 'Problema dostupa v arkhivy i ikh ispol'zovaniia' (Problems of archival access and use), *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia*, part I, issue no. 5, 2003: 79–103, part II, issue no. 6, 2003: 78–104. See also V. P. Kozlov, *Bog sokhranial arkhivy Rossii* (God saved the Russian archives), Cheliabinsk: Kniga, 2009: 123–124, 145, 257, 263. Kozlov explains his views on the incompatibility of commercial projects with the role of government archives.

³⁵ Information verified by the archivist of the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco, Margarita Meniailenko, 2 September 2010.

³⁶ *Elektronnoe Kadetskoe Pis'mo*, no. 64, Buenos Aires, July 2010.

Soviet State Security Archives and their Exploitation for Political Aims¹

Nikita Petrov

As a result of the events of August 1991, the power of the CPSU collapsed. Following decrees issued by Boris Eltsin, President of the Russian Federation, the party archives were taken over by the state archival agency, while the KGB archives were partially sealed for subsequent transfer into state custody.² These decrees were aimed not only towards saving the CPSU and KGB archives from possible destruction; there was talk of future study and use of these archives, crucial for the understanding of the true history of our country. As early as Autumn 1991, the 'Commission on the Organisation and Transfer of the CPSU and KGB Archives into State Custody, and their Use' was set up, presided over by Dmitrii Volkogonov. The reform which had begun in the sphere of archives was aimed at opening up previously inaccessible archives and creating new archival legislation, and, on its basis, regulations which would enable the law to be applied for the greatest possible ease of access and use of archival documents. There was also the intention of creating laws on the declassification of documents after a set period (normally, 30 years after the creation of the document).

For the first few years, work on drafting the laws on archives and access to information went reasonably well. A number of important laws were passed.³ Things proceeded less well with their implementation. On the part of both state officials and archivists a certain reluctance to follow the new regulations could be seen at every stage of the reorganisation, sometimes amounting to open sabotage of the resolutions of the Federal Archive Service.

Eltsin's decrees of 24 August 1991 on the transfer into state custody of the CPSU and KGB archives⁴ were implemented only in relation to the CPSU archives (both central and local); the KGB archives remained under the KGB's eventual successor – the Federal Security Service (FSB). And there is still no access to them. Or rather, access to these archives does exist, but it is regulated by members of the special services (according to their choice and whims) and not on the basis of law.

The research community still has no clear picture of either the structure or the content of the former KGB archives. Nor do we know precisely how many surviving documents it contains.⁵ In 1991–1993 at sessions of the

Commission on the CPSU and KGB Archives, representatives of the KGB archive presented conflicting information as to the number of branches of the Central Archive and the extent of its holdings.

It is worth recollecting that the former KGB archives were subjected to radical purging in the middle of the 1950s. At the time of the formation of the KGB (1954), its Central Operational Archive comprised 5,713,000 storage units.⁶ Among these were about 1.5 million general record-keeping files (*dela obshchego deloproizvodstva*); 1,783,000 archival investigation (*arkhivno-sledstvennyye*) files; 360,000 personal files of VChK/KGB personnel; 375,000 operational cultivation and verification files (*dela operativnoi razrabotki i proverki*) (known as dossiers on citizens)⁷ and 475,000 KGB agents' personal and working files;⁸ 70,000 'operational' files of the foreign intelligence service apparatus; 900,000 files on persons leaving and entering the USSR, beginning in 1922;⁹ and 280,000 'special verification files' (*spetsproverki*) on persons travelling abroad.

The scale of the destruction of state security documents in the years 1954–1955 and in the subsequent period, when the parameters of files to be kept in perpetuity were considerably narrowed and the 'purging' of archives became a regular occurrence, can be judged only from the number of archival files of the former KGB that survived until August 1991. According to official information presented to the Commission on the CPSU and KGB Archives,¹⁰ the number of files in the Central KGB Archive amounted to only 654,300. Furthermore, only 167,800 files were held in Moscow and in its repository outside Moscow,¹¹ while the majority were concentrated in its regional branches: in Saratov (60,000); in Omsk (363,000);¹² and in Vladimir¹³ (63,500). We can see that in comparison with 1954 there had been a considerable loss of archive documents. Particularly noticeable is the destruction of archival investigation files. In the Central Archive only 75,000 such files survived,¹⁴ in addition to these several other categories of similar files were held in regional branches: in Vladimir 29,500 files on 'German war criminals' and in Omsk 128,000 files on Germans arrested on German territory in the post-war period. So we see that the bulk of the 1.7 million archival investigation files previously held in the central KGB archive had been destroyed.¹⁵

The overall number of KGB archival documents at the time of the break-up of the USSR amounted to 9.5 million files, of which 4.8 million were in the RSFSR. The resolution on practical measures to be taken for the transfer of the KGB archives into state custody was adopted by

the Commission on the CPSU and KGB Archives as early as January 1992.¹⁶ First of all, the 'age' of the material to be transferred was fixed, namely fifteen years.¹⁷ Materials less than fifteen years old were to be held temporarily by the KGB agency archive. An exception to this rule was to be made for 'archival materials relating to forms of activity carried out by organs of state security that had been discontinued because they were not in accordance with the new legislation and the Constitution of the Russian Federation'. Such documents were to be transferred regardless of their age, i.e. including those less than fifteen years, and directly from the operational units where they had been created, bypassing the institution's own archive, if they had not yet been deposited there.¹⁸ An exception was also made, but in this case involving an extension of the period for which they were to be held in the agency archive, for documents (orders and instructions, etc.) 'regulating the operational activity of the service'. But the period was not to extend beyond 30 years. This was premised on the certainty that the normative base for regulating this type of secret service activity would be overhauled in the course of 30 years.

Equally precise was the definition of the categories of documents to be transferred:

- Screening and verification (*filtratsionno-proverochnye*) files on Soviet citizens who had been in captivity in Germany or had been deported there;
- Archival investigation files on those who had been rehabilitated or had come under the new law on rehabilitation;¹⁹
- personal files of former personnel of the organs of state security which had gone into the archive 30 or more years ago;
- collections of secret administrative records. This category included materials of the secretariat and subdivisions of the state security structure, such as: administrative documents, correspondence, plans and reports, informational and statistical material, minutes of meetings and conferences, monitoring and supervisory (*kontrol'no-nadzornye*) files, reference materials, and the archive group known as 'collections' (some categories of registry checking (*uchetno-proverochnye*) files, 'trophy' (i.e. war booty materials or captured records), collections of photographs and printed matter, etc.).

This resolution did not stipulate any separate stages or timescales for its implementation. Nevertheless, its practical implementation immediately came up against resistance from the leadership of the Ministry of State

Security of the Russian Federation (FSB) – the KGB's legal successor. After some wheeler-dealing behind the scenes,²⁰ a compromise was reached at the end of January–beginning of February 1992, set out in a letter prepared jointly by the Minister of Security Viktor Barannikov and the Chairman of the Committee on Archives (Roskomarkhiv) Rudol'f Pikhoia, addressed to the territorial organs of the Ministry of Security and the Russian Committee on Archives. Its text as a compromise determined the first stage of transfer, involving only the filtration and verification files and the archival investigation files. The remaining mass of records were to be transferred at a later stage. The deadline for implementation of the first stage was set for 1 August 1992. The second stage never happened. And the first stage was not implemented everywhere, and in some cases belatedly. Thus, the archival investigation and the filtration and verification files were transferred to state archives only in 1995.²¹ And even then the real stimulus for transfer was lack of FSB storage space for these files.²² The archival investigation files in the FSB central archive have remained where they were.

In line with the 24 January 1992 decision of the Commission, work continued on proposals for the storage location and the possible research use of other categories of files not listed above. And here it was mainly a question of operational registration files (*dela operativnogo ucheta*) (the so-called dossiers on citizens), other analogous operational materials, and the rather limited number of state security agent personal and working files held in KGB archives. The number of these files was indeed not large. For example in the Moscow KGB there were 9,400 operational registration files and only 3,500 personal files of agents. The last Chairman of the KGB V. A. Kriuchkov did the worst, and the overwhelming majority of these files in the central and local KGB archives were destroyed in the years 1989–1991.²³

Meanwhile in January–March 1992 there was a serious debate in various political circles about the 'lustration' (exclusion from civil or political appointments) of agents and officials of the former KGB. Unfortunately, the prevailing opinion even among 'democrats' was that such a decision would be premature, even dangerous. Serious fears were expressed that it would inevitably lead to a witch hunt.²⁴ Besides, the drawing up and, even more, the adoption of a resolution on making public 'dossiers on citizens' in one way or another and, consequently, the names of security agents was outside the jurisdiction of the Commission on the CPSU and KGB archives. On this only a political resolution at the highest level (by the President of the Russian Federation or the Supreme Soviet) could be taken. However,

apart from heated discussions in certain political circles, no real work was done on drawing up legislation towards this end. At the same time those conservatively minded deputies close to the security services were hastening to develop another law, which would ensure that such matters would be kept secret as before. And such an act, which received the status of a law 'On operational search activity' (*Ob operatsionno-rozysknoi deiatel'nosti*) was adopted in April 1992. A new, considerably harsher redaction of this law was passed by the State Duma 5 July 1995.²⁵ In accordance with this law all information pertaining to agent operational activity and the names of persons working under cover with the organs carrying out this activity were declared a 'state secret'. This law became a serious obstacle to any further exploratory work of the Commission on the CPSU and KGB archives on the question of handing over to state custody the entire body of KGB operational documents and their use for academic research.

Against the background of a series of scandals connected with the publication of a series of 'sensational' materials, opposition to the policy towards openness and declassification of archive documents built up, which, it must be said, was pretty well nourished by these scandals. Indeed it is now hard to avoid the impression that some of these scandals were deliberately engineered. In particular, when there was talk of documents being 'leaked' from the security services' archives, they were in fact passed to foreign journalists in return for payment by current or former employees. The point of these actions is perfectly clear. In sacrificing fairly harmless documents or ones which had lost their actuality, the security services killed two birds with one stone: they received money and, at the same time, created the necessary climate for indignant demands for things to be 'put in order'. Matters even went as far as official agreements between the Agency of Federal Security (AFB)²⁶ and the American television company Davis Entertainment for the production of television films and serials 'based on top-secret files'.²⁷ And the handing over to Germany of the Schulenburg file, which became a target for criticism, had occurred earlier, in June 1991, when there was no question of any lack of control in the affairs of the KGB or any private enterprise on the part of its staff. But even seasoned Russian journalists swallowed this bait, believing it was all part of an uncontrolled and uncontrollable process.²⁸ To be sure, at the same time there were scandals which arose spontaneously, for example, the publication of reports of the Fifth Directorate of the KGB, containing aliases of agents, taken from the materials of the Supreme Soviet Commission investigating the causes and

circumstances of the August 1991 coup.²⁹ Members of this Commission were working actively in the KGB archive in Autumn 1991. A number of other episodes can be recalled when the source of leaks was the state archives where 'fresh' CPSU documents were held.³⁰ But, nevertheless, the calls for 'order' emanated from precisely those institutions affected to a greater or lesser extent by the newspaper scandals.

The resolution adopted in January 1992 on the transfer of archival materials to state custody was never implemented in full. And already in 1993 the Commission on the CPSU and KGB Archives ceased to exist. Thus, the August 1991 decree of President Eltsin 'On the KGB Archives' was never implemented and was forgotten. And at the present time everything has gone back to the omnipotence of the special services (FSB, SVR, etc.) as in Soviet times, when these institutions themselves decided questions of storage and access of documents.

Over the years the views of the Russian authorities on what information from the archives can and should, indisputably, be declassified has changed radically. At the beginning of 1992 at a session of the Commission on the CPSU and KGB Archives the proposition that 'Party documents chronicling its political, commercial and economic activity, its connections with the KGB, with "fraternal" parties, foreign governments, public and other bodies, and on the persecution of dissidents should be made widely public' was accepted by the majority of participants.³¹ But subsequently experts from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, when appraising the material to be declassified, objected roundly when it was a question of making public information about the foreign political activity of the CPSU. Thus in 1995, when the stenographic reports of plenums of the Central Committee were declassified, it was on the insistence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the text of M. A. Suslov's communiqué at the November plenum (1981) on the crisis in Poland was kept classified.³²

The situation in Russia of citizens' rights to access and use archival documents is a cause for serious concern. In comparison with the openness of the archives and the accessibility of collections of documents at the beginning of the 1990s, we now observe a clear regression. These changes can be accounted for by reasons of internal politics, and, in particular, by the proclamation of the new policy of State Patriotism. Russian history has again become a weapon for use in political battles and a means of hoodwinking the population. Tendencies to limit the freedom and right to receive and disseminate information are gaining ever more strength.

At the same time, legislation on archives (for example, the law of 2004 'On Archival Affairs in the Russian Federation') offers researchers extensive rights of access to archival information. However, in practice we see ever more often a blatant disregard for the provisions of these laws. Infringement of the rights of historical researchers to obtain access to various collections of archival documents is systematic. The process of declassification of records stamped as being for limited access is vastly complicated and has effectively been halted by numerous bureaucratic procedures. Researchers have practically no access to government agency archives (of the FSB, SVR, MVD, MID and others), although the law permits it.

At the present time the struggle for the right of researchers freely to receive and disseminate information from the archives is of cardinal political importance. Here it is not only research interests that are important, but also the observance of rights, freedoms and principles essential for the building of a civil society.

Politically, freedom of access to archival materials and their broad dissemination is the most effective means of counteracting state propaganda which distorts history. Moreover, the freedom and rights of the historical researcher won by himself or herself constitutes in itself an element of civil society. It must always be borne in mind that rights belong to those who know how to defend them. And only by encouraging the efforts of interested citizens can we put an end to state dictatorship and tyranny in the sphere of archives.

Translated by Christine Thomas

Endnotes

¹ Based on a paper presented at the ICCEES VIII World Congress, Stockholm, July 2010.

² *Vedomosti S'ezda Narodnykh Deputatov RSFSR i Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, 1991, no. 35 (29 August), p. 927 and 1157. Also published in *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1992, no.1, p. 3.

³ Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Russian Archives in Transition: Caught between Political Crossfire and Economic Crisis', *American Archivist*, vol. 56 (Fall 1993), pp. 614-662.

⁴ For more details, see V. Kozlov and O. Lokteva, 'Arkhivnaia revoliutsiia v Rossii (1991-1996)', *Svobodnaia mysl'*, 1997, no. 1, pp. 115-117.

⁵ For more details, see N. Petrov, 'Politika rukovodstva KGB v otnoshenii arkhivnogo delo byla prestupnoi ...', *Karta* (Riazan'), 1993, pp. 4-5.

⁶ These figures do not take into account the amount of material stored in regional KGB archives.

⁷ At that time the archive of the Moscow KGB Oblast Administration held some 250,000 personal files on agents and informants. Proceeding from this overall number of agents' files, the chief of the Moscow KGB Administration N. I. Krainov announced in June 1954 at the

All-Union Conference of Senior KGB Personnel that 'in the Moscow city and region almost every tenth person is enlisted'.

⁸ The agents' reports were contained in their working files.

⁹ Practically all of these categories were soon destroyed.

¹⁰ Information on the location of branches of the central KGB archive was published in the journal *Karta* (Riazan'), 1993, no. 1, p. 7. See also *INDEX – dos'e na tsenzuru*, 1997, no. 1, p. 96.

¹¹ According to other data, communicated orally by staff of the KGB Central Archive at the end of 1991, about 270,000 files were to be found there.

¹² According to other more exact data in 1991, there was more than double this number of files in the Omsk Branch.

¹³ In 1992–1993 when the Monastery of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary was handed over to the local diocesan administration, the KGB archive which had been housed there was transferred near to Moscow.

¹⁴ Of these about six thousand were for cases where the question of rehabilitation had not yet been decided or when rehabilitation had been refused.

¹⁵ Here we must take into account that the fact that a portion of these files were handed over to the MVD and remain there to this day. Their number is unknown.

¹⁶ Published in *Karta*, Riazan', 1993 (note 5), pp. 6–7.

¹⁷ This figure chosen by the Commission was not by chance. This time frame for keeping documents in Soviet ministries and government agencies had already been established in the standard rules for working practice in government agency archives ratified in 1986.

¹⁸ This refers to documents from the KGB's Fifth Directorate charged with combating heterodoxy and dissidents, officially known as the department for 'the struggle against ideological subversion'.

¹⁹ The RSFSR law 'On the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression' was enacted on 18 October 1991. See *Sbornik zakonodatel'nykh i normativnykh aktov o repressiiakh i reabilitatsii zhertv politicheskikh repressii* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 194–205.

²⁰ The weightiest argument advanced was the 'unreadiness' of the archives service for accession of such a huge volume of records because of insufficient storage space, staff and funding.

²¹ The archival investigation files went to GARF and the filtration check files to TsKHIDK – now RGVA.

²² The building at Bol'shaia Lubianka no. 14, which had previously housed the offices of the Moscow state security service, and the files held there were handed over to the city of Moscow.

²³ In April 1989 after the adoption of the new redaction of Article 70 and the abolition of Article 190 (1) (Dissemination of knowingly false fabrications that defame the Soviet state and social system) and analogous articles in the penal codes of the union republics, Kriuchkov gave orders to destroy all operational record files in the KGB archives, drawn up on the basis of these articles. A year later the head of the KGB of the USSR, alarmed by events in Eastern Europe, and, in particular, drawing lessons from the fall of the GDR and the fate of the Stasi archive, issued an order in September 1990 to destroy all the personal and working files of agents of state security that were held in the archives. Not everywhere did they manage to carry out this order completely by August 1991. See N. Petrov, 'Politika rukovodstva KGB v otnoshenii arkhivnogo byla prestupnoi ...' (note 6), p. 4.

²⁴ The term 'witch hunt' implies persecution of the innocent. This – no-one was aiming to do. There is another reason why archival materials should be opened up and studied thoroughly, namely to establish a true picture and the nature of and motivation for the political

repressions, and to name the names not only of those who suffered, but also of those (and their helpers) who carried out the repressions and violated human rights.

²⁵ *Vedomosti S'ezda narodnykh deputatov RF i Verkhovnogo Soveta RF*, 1992, no. 17 (23 April), Article 892; *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, 1995, no.33, Article 3349.

²⁶ The AFB of Russia came into existence 26 November 1991 from the reorganisation of the KGB RSFSR and existed until 24 January 1992 when it became part of the re-formed Ministry of Security of the Russian Federation.

²⁷ *Izvestiia*, 17 January 1992; *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 22 January 1992. At this time, when the AFB guaranteed to supply the documents, it did not in fact have charge of the Central Archive of the former KGB, which on 19 December 1991 had been made part of the Inter-Republican Ministry of Security headed by Bakatin, and on 24 January 1992, bypassing the AFB, went into the Ministry of Security of the Russian Federation. Eltsin's decree on the formation of a combined Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs of Russia (MBVD Rossii), of which the AFB was to become part, was successfully appealed against in the Constitutional Court and never came into being, so did not affect the ownership of the Central Archive.

²⁸ Ella Maksimova, 'Poka arkhivy KGB bez khoziaina, sekrety uplyvaiut na Zapad', *Izvestiia*, 24 January 1992. The hero of this publication, retired secret service Lieutenant-General S. Kondrashev, explained in his response that the decision to hand over these documents had been made by 'KGB chiefs'. However, in an editorial commentary, the paper brought proof of the commercial nature of this transaction.

²⁹ 'Kak oni rabotali s nami', *Rossiia*, 1992, no. 4 (22–28 January); 'Vernyi rab ChK', *Izvestiia*, 22 January 1992. See also a series of publications by V. Kiselev – an expert from the Commission for Investigating the Circumstances of the State Committee on the State of Emergency (Gosudarstvennyi Komitet po Chrezvychainomu Polozheniiu – GKChP) – in *Argumenty i fakty* 'Stuk, stuk, stuk – ia tvoi drug ...', *Argumenty i fakty*, 1992, nos. 8–15. Later archive materials from this commission formed the basis of the book by G. F. Urushadze, *Vybrannye mesta iz perepiski s vragami* (St Petersburg, 1995).

³⁰ For more details, see Kozlov and Lokteva (note 4), pp. 117–121.

³¹ Incidentally, the Commission was composed not only of the leaders of Roskomarkhiv but also official representatives from the various government departments involved.

³² The watchdogs appeared not to be troubled by the fact that Suslov's report had been reproduced in 3000 copies and distributed together with other materials from the plenum to Party district committees all over the country.

Russian Provenance Resources

W. E. Butler

Berdichevskii, Iakov. Народ книги (К истории еврейского библиофильства в России). 3rd ed.; Kiev, Dukh i litera, 2009. 489 p. 917 ill. Casebound.

Bogomolov, S. I. Российский книжный знак 1700–1918. Moscow, 2004. 960 p. Casebound. 160 ptd. [signed and numbered].

Bogomolov, S. I. Российский книжный знак 1700–1918. 2nd rev. ed.; Moscow, 'Minuvshee', 2010. 960 p. Casebound. 550 ptd.

Getmanskii, E. D. Российский книжный знак в трех томах 1917–1991. Tula, RIF 'Infra', 2004–2005. 3 vols. Paperbound. 100 ptd.

Kozhukhova, V. V. (comp.). Экслибрисы и штемпели частных коллекций в фондах исторической библиотеки, ed. M. D. Afanas'ev and A. A. Viars. Вып. 1. 2nd ed.; Moscow, 2009. 176 p. Paperbound. 500 ptd. (State Public Historical Library of Russia).

Российский экслибрисный журнал. Moscow, 2004–. 11 issues to date. 500 ptd. (Russian Exlibris Association of the International Union of Booklovers).

In book history circles provenance studies are in fashion these days, having been undeservedly neglected for, it seems, eons. One might assume that the auxiliary science of bookplate studies would have long since joined in exploring the interests of book historians, but for the most part these two disciplines pursue parallel paths however proximate they may be to one another. Some libraries maintain provenance catalogues. A few of these can be searched on-line, usually without illustration. More recently, especially in Russia, libraries have begun to publish full-scale annotated catalogues of bookplates and other marks of ownership to be found in the books which they hold, as distinguished from any separate bookplate collections as such.

This means bookplate research at library level, an undertaking which most library personnel, unless they be collectors in their personal capacities too, are not trained to perform. On one hand, they have the library's own records about the acquisition of their holdings and a respectable reference library of provenance resources; on the other, they lack the mastery of bookplate lore which a good collector routinely amasses through the experience of forming his or her own collection and viewing others. What one might call the 'communion' of collectors, whether in person at bookplate society

meetings or congresses, or postal or e-mail communication, is invariably absent at the institutional level.

Of the items under review, all but one originate with collectors. The sole institutional item, however, is an important contribution in its own right whose compiler and editors have usefully drawn upon the learning of collecting circles. In the instance of the collectors, the works are labours of love that represent the fruits of decades of collection-formation and the accumulated learning that goes with it. All without reservation belong in any collection on provenance research, although most libraries will be fortunate to be able to acquire them now at any price.

Which illustrates a second concern for those forming an institutional collection for provenance research. Most bookplate collectors write about bookplates. This is one of the attractions of collecting. Unlike postage stamps, where there exist definitive catalogues of what has been produced and one merely fills in the gaps and hopes to make a fortune on an unidentified variant which escaped inspection, there can never be exhaustive bookplate catalogues. The bookplates themselves and the books they adorn are a private affair which mostly sees the light of day when a bookplate collection or library is dispersed. Bookplate collectors, even the beginning neophyte, cannot fail to make new discoveries and to write them up for the sundry bookplate society media. Mature collectors find themselves compiling catalogues or writing books, mostly for other collectors and mostly at their own expense. These they pass around, sell a few, and exchange. Rarely do they enter the retail book trade, and when they do, they are rapidly sold. Low print runs ensure that supplies disappear quickly unless the institutional buyer has recourse directly to the author; as a rule, they cannot find him or her, or do not take the trouble. For the most part, and the problem is acute for anyone working with Russian bookplates, the best institutional collections of bookplate reference works are inferior to those of an advanced collector. That places institutions who would wish to prepare catalogues such as that done by the State Public Historical Library of Russia at a decided disadvantage.

Berdichevskii is a wonderful example of what a collector can make of his personal holdings and careful investigation of those to whom the bookplate belonged and those who created it – even the humble book stamp and book label. Originally based in Kiev and now in Berlin, Berdichevskii is among that elder generation of learned collectors and scholars who in a number of publications is sharing the lore accumulated over decades. This is his

most ambitious title (others mostly address individual bookplate designers, superbly produced), now in its third edition. He traces the history of Jewish bibliophily in Russia through the marks of ownership (917 are illustrated), giving as much data as he can find on the individuals concerned, their libraries, and the designer of their ownership mark. Each edition adds more material, the overall result being an unusually readable tour de force for which the author has been justly awarded the Udo Ivask Certificate and Medal by the International Federation of Ex-Libris Societies (FISAE).

The late Sergei Ivanovich Bogomolov (1917–2010) has by simple reason of his ‘encyclopedia’ of the prerevolutionary Russian bookplate been designated the ‘Patriarch of the Russian Bookplate’. He devoted over 25 years to preparing his catalogue and saw it through press in a ‘Samizdat’ edition thanks to the patronage of the Moscow publisher, Andrei Ivanovich Kuznetsov. More than 20,000 bookplates are listed, many in the subnumerated variants which considerably extends the formal numeration of 18,000+. Illustrations are present, greatly reduced and probably photocopied versions, but at least a rough idea of the design can be obtained. These are unnumbered and probably reflect the caprice of the author and space available. The catalogue completely overwhelms in scale and detail its only worthy predecessor, Udo Ivask’s *Описание русских книжных знаков* (1905–18) in three volumes, although Ivask set a standard of production quality which Bogomolov could not match.

Excluding military bookplates from his purview, partly on the basis that another collector would address these, Bogomolov searched all the major institutional bookplate collections throughout the Soviet Union and all the important private collections. Fellow collectors from throughout the country assisted in this exercise, each named and generously thanked in the Preface. Numerous auxiliary indexes assist the user of the volume, which is otherwise ordered by name of the owner of the bookplate. Information about the owner is given when available, together with locations of the bookplate in both public and private collections!

This book never entered the booktrade. If one is to believe the rumours, all copies were rapidly sold (read: rationed) by the author, a process during which prices varied and scores were settled. The only copy known to me, apart from my own, to be in the West belongs to The British Library – but perhaps others were fortunate. Essentially a one-man exercise, the author himself was aware of mistakes and omissions. He laboured to rectify these until the end of his days.

Fortunately, a second revised edition appeared in 2010 with Bogomolov's revisions, which he, alas, did not live to see, having passed away in January 2010. In his preface to the revised version he claimed that 'numerous' changes and additions were made and the entries appropriately marked. In addition, emendations to his entries were supplied by the redoubtable A. M. Mikhailov, of St Petersburg. Those that could not be incorporated in the main body of the work are set out in an Annex (pp. 958–59). 'Minuvshee' is a small Moscow publishing house specializing, *inter alia*, in reprints of classic Russian bibliographies and occasional titles on bookplates. The second edition of Bogomolov was launched at the September 2010 Moscow International Book Fair at 3,000 rubles, with a considerable mark-up being taken by those Russian bookshops which stock the title (ca. 4,500 rubles).

Posterity is already obliged to a number of Russian exlibrists who have published memoirs of their collecting or even undertaken a full history of the Russian bookplate. The earlier efforts were typewritten versions dating from the 1930–40s in three or four examples – early Samizdat, but retyped in some cases to supply the small group of bookplate collectors who thrived on this reference material.¹ Getmanskii has drawn upon these and much more to prepare his magisterial history of the Russian bookplate in the Soviet era. However, the title notwithstanding, the author gives an excellent overview of the Russian bookplate prior to 1917 (I, pp. 24–104). The remainder of volume I takes the story to 1969. It is a story of collectors and artists, few in number but stalwart in their devotion to the bookplate; the efforts of the authorities in the 1930–40s to extinguish organized collecting and control artistic expression; the post-Stalin thaw and gradual formation of societies and organization of bookplate exhibitions, which gathered pace in the 1960s. Volume II, which takes the story from 1970 to 1991, addresses the rise of the Russian bookplate chiefly through the bookplate designer – the hundreds of Russian artists who began to design bookplates and achieved international recognition for the quality of their work. The artists treated are divided into three groups: Moscow, Leningrad, and Provincial. For the most part the discussion of each artist contains little biographical background, but rather concentrates upon individual style and particular bookplates done for collectors or institutions.

Were the reader left with mere words describing bookplate design, the work would be difficult to cope with. Volume 3 redresses the balance by reproducing 1,345 bookplates by 387 Russian artists. The illustrations are not precisely coordinated with the text in volumes 1 and 2, but one can

follow the names and come away with some visual image of what the text describes in the earlier volumes.

The excellent catalogue of bookplates to be found in the holdings in the State Public Historical Library of Russia, reviewed previously in this journal,² has been greatly improved in its second edition. The biographical information on bookplate owners has been expanded; errors rectified, including in attributions; there are more illustrations; the super libri of owners are now included and illustrated; the dimensions of bookplates have been added; and account has been taken of other reference sources, including Bogomolov (first edition). In all the size of volume 1 has doubled. This is an absolutely essential volume for any reference collection on provenance studies.

Russian exlibris clubs and societies throughout the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries have been local affairs, generous in admitting collectors from other towns and even abroad, but depending primarily upon those nearby to attend actively and support society activities. In this Russia differs from most European countries and the United States, where usually one, and occasionally two, societies serve the nation, so to speak. The distinction is important. For Russians the meetings are the crucial activity, perhaps accompanied by exhibitions and occasional special publications. In most foreign countries, meetings are infrequent and poorly attended simply because of distances involved; that means the serial publications of each society are what binds members together. The *Russian Exlibris Journal* is only the second (technically, the third) to appear as a 'national' publication, so to speak. The first, founded by Udo Ivask in 1907 at Moscow, lasted only one issue and hardly counts. The second, the Proceedings of the Leningrad Society of Exlibrists, survived for more than a decade in the 1920–30s, was magnificently designed and produced – a model of bookplate scholarship – and today commands a premium price for a complete set with Index.

Published by the International Union of Booklovers, to which the Russian Exlibris Association is attached, in a generous print-run, the *Russian Exlibris Journal* was founded by two individuals who were the life and soul of Russian bookplate collecting: Academician (PAEH) Veniamin Khudolei (1945–2007) and Vladimir Loburev (1933–2007). The present editor, Ludmila Shustrova, has carried on the journal in the tradition in which it was founded. Most issues follow a more or less standard format: articles and notes on the history of the Russian bookplate; personalia, devoted to Russian and foreign collectors and bookplate designers; finds and attributions of new bookplates; information on new artists and relevant events; jubilee dates (usually

birthdays) of noted collectors and designers; and obituaries. Always well illustrated and indexed, the journal is deliberately influenced in appearance and substance by its Leningrad predecessor of the 1920s. The reviewer is unaware of any complete sets of the journal in institutions outside Russia.

Endnotes

¹ Those by Savonko and Rozenbladt were translated and published by this reviewer in *Bookplate International*, which in its eleven volumes to date contains more in English on the Russian bookplate and provenance studies than any other publication, including Russian. Sets are still available from the Publisher.

² *Solanus*, n.s., no. 16 (2002), pp. 137–38. The authors of the Catalogue credit that review for their decision to introduce in this second edition the dimensions of bookplates in the catalogue descriptions.

Reviews

I. I. Frolova, ed., *Kniga v Rossii, 1895–1917*. St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka, 2008. 720 pp. List of abbreviations. Index of names. Illustrations. ISBN 978-5-8192-0314-9.

This is the concluding volume in a three-volume series published by the Russian National Library of St Petersburg. Volumes 1 and 2 covered 1861–81 and 1881–95 respectively. The nine chapters of the present volume take the history of the book in Russia up to 1917. Themes continued from the earlier volumes are: legislation and the press; the growth of the printing industry; the publishing houses of St Petersburg and Moscow; the book trade in the two capitals; the publishing activities of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, the universities and the scientific societies; the book industry in the provinces; author–publisher relations; and the book readership. New subjects are the publishing operations of the Russian Orthodox Church (chapter 5) and the development of the science of the book (chapter 9).

The overall picture presented by the twenty-two years of this survey is of strong growth in every area of publishing. The term ‘book’ is used elastically to include all forms of the printed word, not only books proper but brochures, periodicals, newspapers and even leaflets. A welcome feature of this volume are the frequent statistical tables showing the numbers of individual or collected works published in the capitals and in the provinces, the quantities of copies involved, and their classification according to subject-matter.

Censorship, particularly oppressive in the provinces (p. 30), was a continual thorn in the flesh of both publishers and booksellers right up to the February Revolution of 1917 (p. 46), when its complete removal launched a flood of publications from the whole range of political parties as well as a mass of previously banned literary works. This situation was halted abruptly by the October Revolution of 1917, and by the end of 1920 the variety of private publishing houses had been replaced by the centrally controlled system of book production and distribution which persisted until the rejection of Marxism-Leninism and the collapse of the Soviet state in 1989–1991.

Two chapters dominate this collective work, chapter 2 on the publishing houses of St Petersburg and Moscow (pp. 54–331) and chapter 7 on the book industry in the provinces (pp. 451–634). The former examines the history of 48 publishing houses, split into three groups: first, those dating

from the 1850s–1870s, and second, those which came into being in the 1880s–1890s and in the following century. These two groups are further subdivided into general and specialist publishers. A third group comprises ‘new type publishing houses’, essentially companies created by literary or religio-philosophical *kruzhki* to provide outlets for their own works. Chapter 7 describes the provincial book industry of six *gubernii*, those of Olonets, Vologda, Tambov, Perm’, Nizhnii Novgorod, Saratov, and finally that of Siberia and the Far East.

Of the two next most substantial chapters one, chapter 3, deals with the book trade in the two capitals and specifically with its trade organization, the Russian Society of Booksellers and Publishers, and with its successors after it was wound up in 1910. Chapter 4 explores the field of academic publishing as seen in the activities of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and those of the universities of St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Khar’kov, Novorossiisk, Kazan’, Tomsk (founded in 1888), Saratov (Nikolaevskii University founded in 1909) and Rostov, formed when the Russian University of Warsaw was evacuated there in the autumn of 1915. Lacking its own printing facilities, St Petersburg University used those of the Academy of Sciences and privately owned presses. The long established Moscow University press, ‘privatised’ in 1896, was restored to university control in 1908. In addition, by 1905 about 180 scientific societies, scattered all over the Russian Empire and with about one-sixth of them located in Siberia, were printing their own publications, chiefly periodicals.

One of the most interesting chapters and one of the shortest, chapter 6, deals with the sociology of the author class and their relations, mainly financial, with publishers (pp. 441–450). From 1895 to the beginning of 1914 the number of authors appearing in print rose from 830 to 1,150, a rise of 28%, but more significant was the number among them of professional writers living ‘by their pens’, which rose from 30% in 1895 to 43.2% in 1914. This coincided with a decline in the number of writers from the *dvorianstvo*, which fell from 67.7% in 1880 to 41.1% in 1914. Coincidentally the number of self-taught writers (*samouchki*) and writers with only primary education trebled from 2.7% in 1895 to 7.1% in 1914. Their careers were exemplified by that of Gor’kii, whose *Ocherki i rasskazy* (1898) was enthusiastically received by the critics and who became one of the best-known and best-paid writers of the following two decades. Between the 1890s and the end of the first decade of the next century honoraria paid to authors doubled, and publishers found themselves competing against one another for their works.

This substantial volume is based on 'huge factual material', a phrase used with reference to chapter 2 (p. 55) but which could equally well be applied to the whole work. Secondary sources have been thoroughly searched, and – a more demanding task – primary sources of all descriptions, memoirs, private correspondence, official documents and company minutes, have been assembled, assessed and worked up into a coherent narrative. Most impressive of all is the sheer quantity of statistical data. After two world wars, the Russian civil war and the 'cleansing' of files by politicians and *chinovniki* anxious to cover their tracks, it is astonishing that so much detailed information survives.

This book reveals the desperate attempts of those who in the last years of the Russian Empire saw its salvation in the political education of its masses. But a process which in other European countries had taken centuries could not be compressed in Russia into two decades. As the introduction makes plain, although literacy was rapidly increased throughout the nation, and books, pamphlets and newspapers poured from the presses and were widely distributed, the educators were not of one mind; there was hesitation and resistance to necessary reforms, and, when finally enacted, they came too late.

The twenty-seven contributors, coordinated by I. I. Frolova, should be congratulated on their remarkable achievement.

C. L. DRAGE

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Tsenzura v Rossii: istoriia i sovremennost'. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov (Censorship in Russia: History and the Present. Collected Papers). Vypusk 3 (issue 3), vypusk 4 (issue 4). St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Institute for the History of Natural Sciences and Engineering RAN Saint Petersburg Branch, 2006, 2008, pp. 320, 487. Print run 500. No price indicated.

The volumes in this invaluable series are not only gradually getting bigger (No. 1 – 271 pp., No. 4 – 487 pp.), but their contents are becoming more varied, rising from four sections in No. 1 (History of Censorship, Censorship Today, Bibliography, News Items) to five sections in No. 4 (Formation of an 'Information Society' and Problems of Accessing Information, History of Censorship, Publications, Bibliography and Reference Materials, and Reviews). Moreover, the word 'Russia' on the cover can on occasion (No. 3) be applied by the compilers not pedantically but in a generously expansive

way, so that on the inside contents page we find 'Istoriia tsenzury v Rossii i drugikh stranakh', permitting the publication of fascinating articles on library censorship in the Latvian SSR, on varieties of censorship in Serbia from 1945 until today, on the censorship of books in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and, in another section, on the freedom of expression in the digital sphere in contemporary Estonia.

This article on Estonia forms part of a particularly interesting discussion in No. 3 (continued in No. 4) about some of the trickiest problems arising from the apparently unstoppable processes of globalisation and the spread of new technologies for improving worldwide communications and increasing the explosive amounts of information, misinformation, disinformation, pornography, rubbish, etc. For many readers of this review, these problems will be 'old hat', but I would still draw their attention to the 'antinomies' succinctly discussed by I. A. Trushina (3:71–83) in the form of ten theses and antitheses. One might claim that the information society creates opportunities for universal and unlimited access to self-selected information, for an increase in cultural and linguistic diversity, for the inculcation of high moral and ethical principles, for the realisation by people of their full potential, coupled with their right to privacy and their ability to socialise with others, for the flourishing of democracy (e-government) and for 'informational literacy'. Less 'progressive' people might stress the antitheses: the information society can lead to greater informational inequality and to the unification of cultures, encourage monolingualism, increase the likelihood of the censorship (filtration) of information and of the ever wider distribution of pornography and racist and other types of hate propaganda, facilitate the invasion of the individual's privacy, reduce the number of 'real' rather than virtual human contacts, increase informational pollution, allow totalitarian and other regimes to control and manipulate public opinion, and decrease the likelihood of acquiring wisdom from sources other than those available online. So far as Russia's place in the information community is concerned, it would be worth taking a look at G. V. Zhirkov's article (4:12–39, especially 32–33), which mentions the claim by the geopolitician I. N. Panarin that there exists an American project for the creation of a New British Empire, an invisible world government, promoted by the US State Department, the RAND corporation and the BBC. According to Panarin (one might add that he is a neo-Eurasianist and a professor at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), there are powerful people in Moscow who are quite happy to go along with this strategy. If these people

are powerful enough, one could suggest, then, in a certain sense, the Cold War might indeed be almost over.

Most of the other materials in the two volumes under review are devoted to more traditional subjects, such as the confiscation of books by the St Petersburg customs in 1800, copyright in pre-revolutionary Russia, internal circulars issued by the Russian censorship directorate between 1865 and 1905, efforts to suppress pornography, the censorship of music in Karelia (all these in No. 3), and the censorship of theatre reviews during the reign of Nicholas I, articles on the desirability of a constitution for Russia which were banned from publication in 1862, the workings of the Imperial Court censorship, perustration, A. F. Koni's failed attempts to get his way on the draft of a proposed law on the press in 1905, the sufferings of an ultra-reliable pro-Russian Polish censor, the sacking of an obstreperous censor in 1857 (this article is available elsewhere in English), library censorship in Ekaterinburg prior to 1917, and censorship of letters to and from foreign prisoners-of-war in Karelia after World War II (all these are in No. 4).

No less important is the publication of Soviet and pre-Soviet documents concerning censorship, of biographical information on the scores of censors in Tsarist Russia, and of bibliographical data on dissertations, theses, articles and books on Russian and Soviet censorship. Of particular interest I found the documents of the secret (*bezglasnyi*) additional censorship organisation that existed from 1848 to 1855 (3:224–246), and those of the RSFSR Narkompros (within which *Glavlit* and *Glavrepertkom* operated) from 1922 to 1924 (3:257–286), i.a., showing Lunacharskii in a rather good light. M. V. Zelenov continues his annotated publication of RSFSR Narkompros documents relating to censorship in 4:254–290. Some of the censorship authorities' internal circulars pertaining to the work of their outstations in the provinces and issued between 1865 and 1912 are published and annotated by N. G. Patrusheva and I. P. Foote in 4:197–253. One publication (4:373–471), by a team of five scholars, is of exceptional value: biobibliographical information about pre-revolutionary censors in Kazan' and in 'Russian Poland' (*Tsarstvo Pol'skoe*). Naturally, working in the censorship at that time was a profession for gentlemen, but it is interesting to note that one Marta Bogomolova was hired to censor foreign newspapers and periodicals in Warsaw in 1915 (4:454).

I have not been able even to mention some of the contributions (there are no duds) and the names of most of the contributors to these two truly remarkable volumes. One must hope that the series has by now acquired

sufficient momentum to keep going, however difficult the future might be.

MARTIN DEWHIRST

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L. Mnukhin, M. Avril' and V. Losskaia, eds, *Rossiiskoe zarubezh'e vo Frantsii 1919–2000: biograficheskii slovar' v trekh tomakh. Tom pervyi: A–K*. Moscow, Nauka; Dom-muzei Mariny Tsvetaevoi, 2008. 795 pp. ISBN 978-5-93015-105-3.

Tom vtoroi: L–R. Moscow, Nauka; Dom-muzei Mariny Tsvetaevoi, 2010. 684 pp. ISBN 978-5-93015-115-2.

France, particularly Paris, has always been a favourite destination point for Russians, especially in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the Civil War down to the present day. Lev Mnukhin and his fellow researchers have compiled a meticulous comprehensive biographical dictionary in three volumes of 'Russia Abroad' in France covering the major years of the Russian Emigration. What is so striking about the two volumes which have so far appeared is the scope and breadth of the entries. The first volume includes more than 6,000 entries and the second volume 5,000 entries. Once the third volume comes out, there will be a total of 16,000! This biographical handbook is a logical outgrowth of Mnukhin's magisterial project of a few years ago – the eight-volume chronicle of the scientific, cultural and social life of Russia Abroad in France from 1920 to 1975 (Moscow, 1995–2002). If the chronicle covered events, we have now a work of encyclopedic proportions devoted to the people behind the events. Not only do the famous receive coverage here (from Adamovich to Miliukov to Zenzinov), but also the innumerable Popovs. Basic facts have been obtained from consulting obituary notices in numerous (and sometimes rare) émigré and French newspapers. This has been supplemented by archival sources and reference to memoirs, correspondence, and even oral histories. This is a veritable who's who not only of Russians who lived in France, but also of those who visited or studied there. Just the mere fact of visiting France qualified for entry in this dictionary regardless of the brevity of the stay. Every wave of the Russian emigration is included as well as all classes and professions, from members of the royal family to taxi drivers. Non-Russians (Paul Anderson, Pierre Pascal...) are not forgotten provided their contributions to Russia Abroad were significant. Public appeals by the editors for information about people still living have made these entries as complete as possible. Each

entry length depended upon how long the individual lived in France. For example, the pioneer of the ballet world Sergei Lifar', who lived for most of his life in France, received a lot of space as opposed to the entries for the artists N. Al'tman and E. Kruglikova, whose stays were much shorter.

All too often encyclopedias repeat the same hackneyed information of earlier encyclopedias. Even for the very famous the editors have striven to include something new; for example, all of Nabokov's lectures in Paris are listed. Thumbing through this dictionary one learns all types of interesting facts: that the father of the poet Boris Poplavskii was a pupil of Chaikovskii's, that the French writer A. Bosquet was the son of the Russian translator of Rilke Aleksandr Bisk, or that Gor'kii's adopted son Z. Peshkov was a French general and a close associate of Charles de Gaulle. While the facts gleaned from this handbook may appear to be insignificant, taken together they reveal the variety, importance and richness of Russia Abroad in France. Thanks should be given to Lev Mnukhin and his team for this herculean accomplishment. This biographical dictionary should be in any large research library and no serious scholar of the Russian Emigration can afford to ignore this fundamental and essential work.

GEORGE CHERON

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Karol Estreicher (1827–1908) – bibliograf, bibliotekarz, historyk teatru: sesja jubileuszowa w 100. rocznicę śmierci Karola Estreichera, Warszawa, 22 października 2008. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2009, 116 p. Illustrations.

In October 2008 the Biblioteka Narodowa and Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich organised a conference commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of Karol Estreicher (Sr), the author of *Bibliografia polska*. Six papers presented at the conference and published in this volume cover the life and work of Estreicher, the reception of his work and his influence on later generations of bibliographers.

Karol Estreicher was a lawyer with a special interest in Polish bibliography. More interested in researching criminal slang than in court proceedings, in 1863 Estreicher left the legal profession and became a librarian and lecturer in bibliography in the Szkoła Główna in Warsaw where he worked on the *Bibliografia*. Unfortunately, due to the political situation at the time, he was unable to publish the *Bibliografia* in Warsaw, as the Russian authorities regarded it as politically suspect. In 1868 he was offered the post of

director of the Jagiellonian Library. The situation in Kraków, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time, was more liberal and publication of the *Bibliografia* began in 1869. Estreicher worked on the bibliography until his death, making notes and leaving instructions for his son Stanisław who continued his father's work. Later Karol Estreicher's grandson, Karol Estreicher (Jr), continued the family tradition.

Estreicher's *Bibliografia* reaffirmed the importance of Polish literature and culture at a time when Poland did not exist as a state. Covering the XV–XIX centuries, it is an invaluable source of information on the history of Polish publishing.

The work on Estreicher's *Bibliografia* is continued by the Centrum Badawcze Bibliografii Polskiej Estreicherów at the Jagiellonian University. The director of the Centrum Badawcze writes about the electronic version of the *Bibliografia*, created by the Centrum, and a database of material included in the bibliography. The database consists of 4 parts: *Baza Bibliografii Staropolskiej*, *Baza Bibliografii XIX Wieku*, *Baza Bibliografii Chronologicznej* and *Baza Materiałów do Uzupełnień 'Bibliografii polskiej' Estreichera*. It is a valuable research tool, allowing complex searches. Both electronic version and database are available (www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl). Surprisingly, the author begins his paper by launching a tirade against those with no moral rights to carry on Estreicher's work who try to influence the shape of the *Bibliografia*, but not specifying who these people – or institutions – are.

It is interesting to read about Estreicher's role as the director of the Jagiellonian Library where he worked until his retirement in 1905, the problems he faced, and of course his achievements – significantly increasing the library's collections, describing and organising them, and mobilising an army of volunteers to work on the collections (which was against the library's regulations).

Estreicher's second passion was theatre. A well-researched paper presents Estreicher as a theatre historian. The author writes about Estreicher's fascination with theatre, his works on the subject (including his *Teatra w Polsce*), and his efforts to collect and preserve anything to do with Polish theatre – posters, memoirs, programmes (thanks to Estreicher the Jagiellonian Library has one of the biggest collections of theatre posters in Poland). This *homo theatralis*, as he was described by one of his contemporaries, spent long hours writing numerous reviews, making copies of documents and searching newspapers for even the smallest mention of obscure provincial theatre companies.

The concluding paper, by Karol Estreicher's great grandson, focuses on the Estreicher family. Full of personal recollections, with more than just a hint of nostalgia, it adds a personal touch and brings to life not only the famous bibliographer but also other, sometimes eccentric, members of the Estreicher family.

The conference papers, covering all aspects of Estreicher's work, are a valuable source of information, not just on the *Bibliografia* but also on areas of Estreicher's work which have been less well researched, such as his newspaper articles, including theatre reviews, political commentaries and satirical works.

ELA KUCHARSKA-BEARD

British Library

Dejan Vukićević, *Delo (1955–1992): bibliografija*. (Istorija srpske književne periodike, 16.) Beograd, Institut za književnost i umetnost: Narodna biblioteka Srbije; Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 2007. 857 pp. Bibliographies. Indexes. ISBN 978-86-7095-127-3.

The monthly literary magazine *Delo* (Action) was founded in Belgrade in 1955 by *Nolit*, a major state publishing company in Yugoslavia. *Delo* was published continuously for 38 years from March 1955 until August 1992, during which time it experienced five changes of editor: Antonije Isaković, Oskar Davičo, Muharem Pervić, Jovica Aćin and Slobodan Blagojević. Pervić (b. 1934), a literary and theatre critic, was the longest-serving editor of *Delo* (1961–80). *Delo* was a literary magazine which promoted contemporary Yugoslav and world literature, theory of literature and the arts, and the literature of the country's national minorities. In the 1970s the *Delo* publishing house produced six books of literary essays and studies.

Vukićević's work comprises five parts: an introductory study, bibliography, six indexes, six appendices, and literature about *Delo*. The introductory study provides an historical overview and general information about the magazine. Special attention is given in this study to the literary polemics between the two rival literary magazines *Delo* and *Savremenik* (Contemporary). The main part of Vukićević's work is an annotated analytical bibliography (pp. [49]–712) done in accordance with the International Standard Book Description (Component Parts) and arranged by the decimal system according to the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC). In total the bibliography contains 7714 entries of all contributions published in *Delo*. The entries' headings

and annotations are in Cyrillic script, but the body of the entries are as published in *Delo* in original Latin script, thus reflecting the magazine's Yugoslav orientation. Similarly on the front hard cover of Vukićević's book 'Delo' is in Latin and 'bibliografija' is in Cyrillic. While all the entries in the bibliography are arranged according to the nine main classes of the UDC, the six indexes (authors, translators, initials and pseudonyms, authors of illustrations, subject index, and an index of editors and editorial members) provided in Vukićević's work allow for cross-searching of *Delo*'s contents. Finally, the appendices give very useful details about the numbering of *Delo*'s issues, printing presses, columns and their frequencies, thematic issues (given chronologically), a list of polemics published in *Delo*, and responses by editors to a survey about *Delo*. The last-named appendix provides important information about first-hand experiences and insightful views from some of *Delo*'s editorial members.

Vukićević's analytical bibliography constitutes a valuable contribution to 'The history of Serbian literary periodicals', an ongoing research project of the Institute of Literature and Art in Belgrade. In this series Vukićević's bibliography of *Delo* follows Staniša Vojinović's bibliography of *Srpski književni glasnik, 1920–1941* (2005), and precedes Marija Cindori-Šinković's bibliographies of *Neven, 1884–1914* (2008) and *Nova Evropa, 1920–1941* (2010). Vukićević's work is to be praised for its detailed and exhaustive research into the magazine *Delo* and for providing an excellent bibliography of 'one of the most important Serbian literary magazines' (p. [7]). Vukićević's bibliography of *Delo* is a useful tool and essential guide for researchers into Serbian culture of the post-World War II period.

MILAN GRBA

British Library, London

Catalogue of the Slavonic Cyrillic Manuscripts of the National Széchényi Library. Edited by Ralph Clemençon, Elissaveta Moussakova and Nina Voutova. With a historical essay by Orsolya Karsay. (CEU Medievalia, 9.) Budapest, Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies; National Széchényi Library; Central European University Press, 2006. 288 p.

The book in question presents a description of Slavonic manuscripts held in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. It introduces the principles of analytical description and contains a survey of the history of the collection. The book has 76 black-and-white and 10 colour plates, a watermark album

supplied with an index, a bibliography, and six other indexes.

The catalogue describes 56 Cyrillic Slavonic manuscripts, the vast majority of which are being described in such detail for the first time. The manuscripts date from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries and half of them were created in the sixteenth century. They constitute a collection that was being formed in the period that stretched from the second half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Numerous well-established Hungarian collectors (Ferenc Széchényi, Miklós Jankovich, Gyula Todorescu, Aranka Horvát, etc.) and museum officials (Antal Hodinka, László Réthy and Szilárd Sulica) contributed to it. Nearly half of the Slavonic manuscripts came from the collection of Miklós Jankovich – these were added to the library's collection in 1836. A great quantity of manuscripts was acquired by the library as a result of nationalization in the 1950s, when church, monastic and school libraries became properties of the state.

The most valuable manuscripts in the collection are: parchment fragments of the Acts and Epistles of the thirteenth century (Fragm. Eccl. Slav. 3), Acts and Epistles of the mid-fifteenth century written on paper (Fol. Eccl. Slav. 19), Gospels of the fourteenth century (Quart. Eccl. Slav. 7), Gospels of the fifteenth century (Fol. Eccl. Slav. 17), a Panegyricon of the sixteenth century (Quart. Eccl. Slav. 19), and the Miscellany of Hristofor Račanin of 1679 (Oct. Serb. I). Quite a few manuscripts are of Ruthenian origin (35 MSS). The authors of the catalogue suggest that the handwriting, layout and decoration patterns of these manuscripts show specific features developed within the manuscript tradition prevalent in the South-Western parts of Eastern Europe inhabited by Slavs. Fourteen codices are of Serbian origin. These manuscripts were found on Hungarian territory and it is believed that they were brought there by Serbian immigrants. The descriptions of manuscripts are arranged by the type of books: Psalter, Gospels, Acts and Epistles, etc., and within each type the manuscripts are listed chronologically. A separate section lists fragments, again subdivided by type of book.

While working on the catalogue the authors managed to date many manuscripts more accurately. This work was based on precise analysis of the watermarks. It is important to note that the authors set their own standards for scholarly descriptions of Slavonic manuscripts. In the structure of the descriptions they tried to follow 'current best practice throughout' (p. xvii), but they recognised that there were areas where no norms had been universally accepted. The variety of practices and terminology in Western

European and Eastern European catalogues was not fully applicable to this particular collection and this presented a serious problem. The solution suggested here is a combination of established practices.

The authors of the catalogue also tried to introduce new ideas on norms and standards of scholarly descriptions which are in line with contemporary trends in the studies of the Slavonic manuscript traditions. This catalogue continues the work carried out in other projects, such as *Cyrillic Books Printed Before 1701 in British and Irish Collections: a Union Catalogue* (London, 2000), the *MASTER* project (<http://www.cta.dmu.ac.uk/projects/master/>) and *The Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature and Letters* (<http://clover.slavic.pitt.edu/~repertorium/>).

The catalogue under review is an excellent example of a bibliographical tool of a very high standard based on original scholarly research. It addresses various issues of the description of manuscripts originating in Eastern Europe and tries to bridge the gap between Western and Eastern traditions of describing and cataloguing medieval manuscripts.

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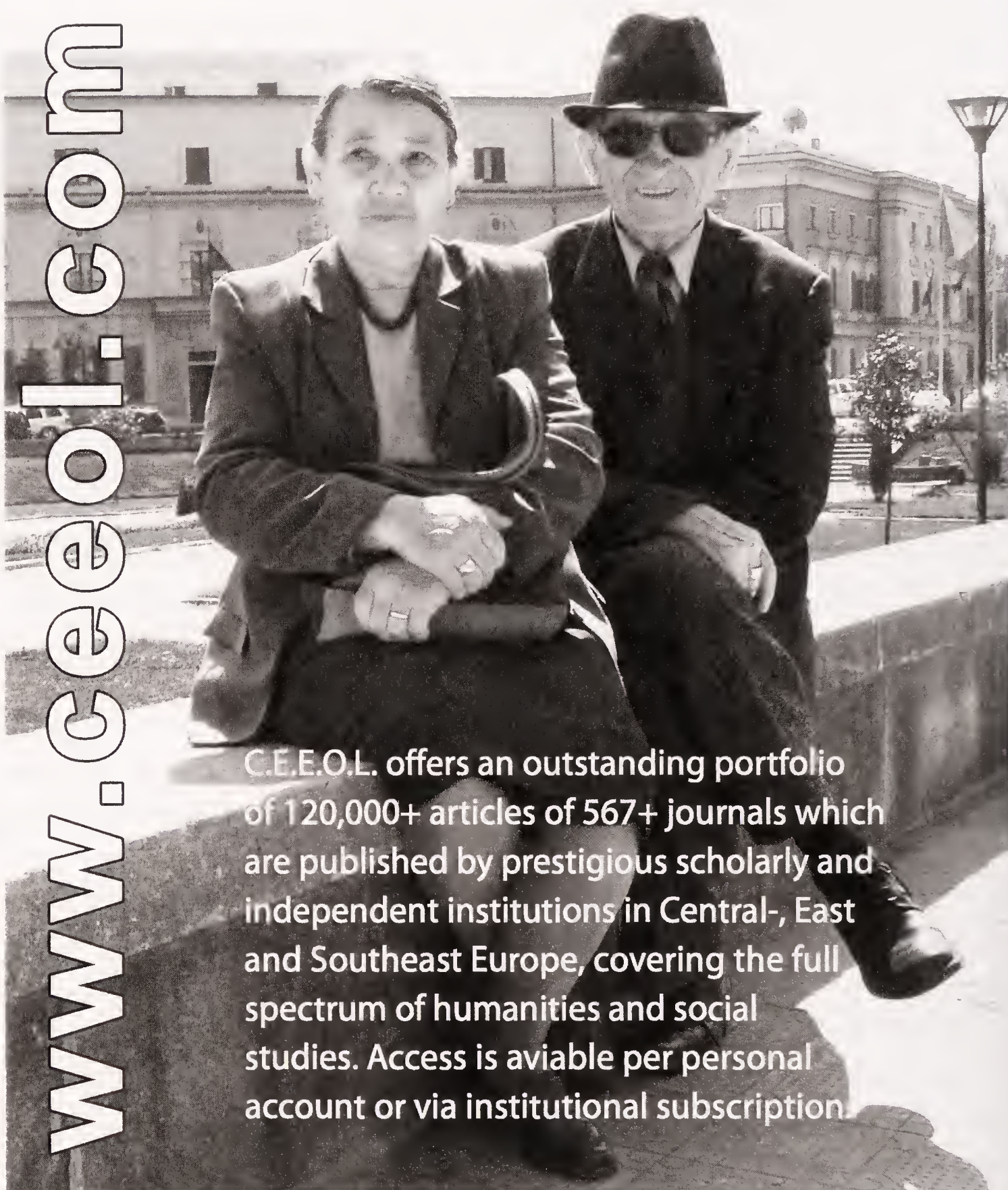
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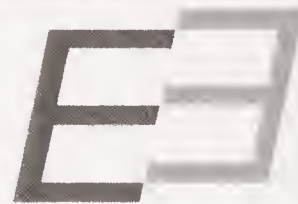
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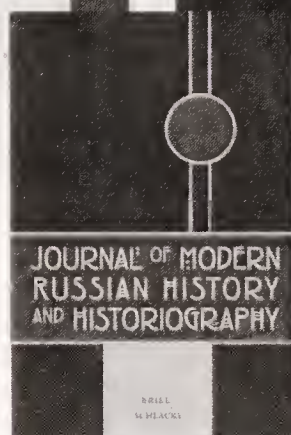
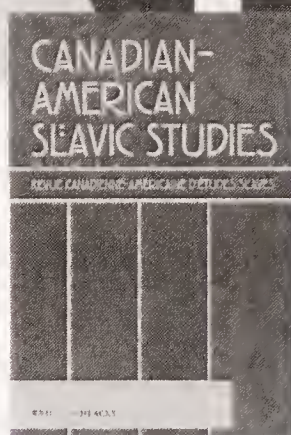


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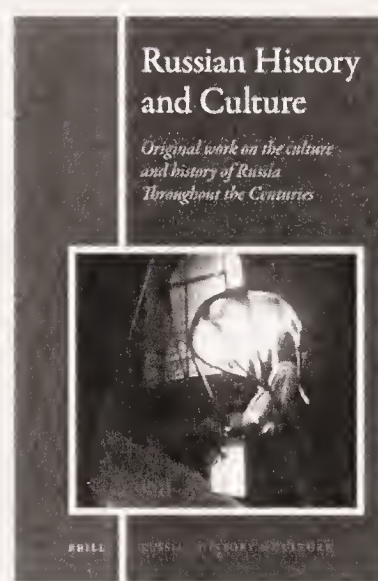
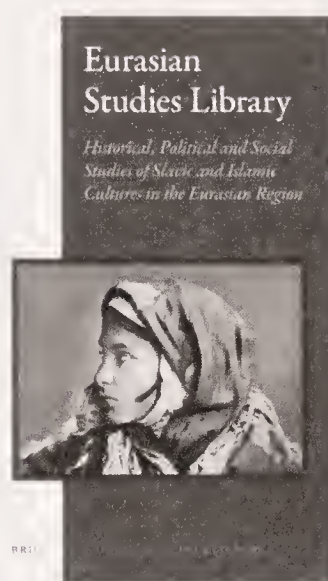
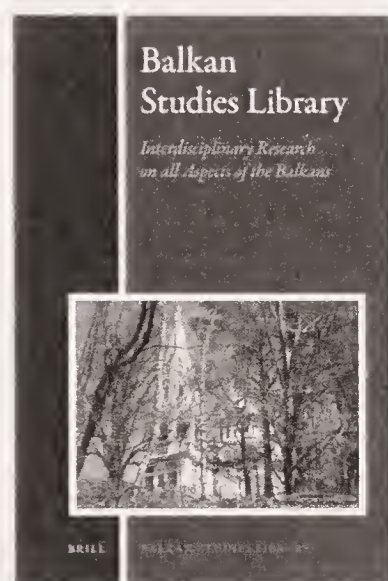
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